

A historical map of Bagamoyo and its surroundings, featuring German labels for geographical features and infrastructure. The map includes a grid with latitude and longitude coordinates (38° 50' to 39° and 6° 25' to 6° 30'). Key locations marked include Bagamoyo, Dunda, and various rivers and roads. A red rectangular box highlights the title and author information.

MTORO BIN MWINYI BAKARI

Mtoro Bakari.

(c.1869-1927)

Swahili Lecturer and Author in Germany

Ludger Wimmelbucker

MKUKI NA NYOTA PUBLISHERS

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari

Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari (c.1869-1927)

Swahili lecturer and author in Germany

Ludger Wimmelbücker



Mkuki na Nyota Publishers

P. O. Box 4246

Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

www.mkukinanyota.com

This book is published by:
Mkuki na Nyota Publishers
P. O. Box 4246
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Email: editorial.uhariri@mkukinanyota.com
Website: www.mkukinanyota.com

© Ludger Wimmelbücker 2009

Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari (c.1869-1927) – Swahili lecturer and author in Germany

ISBN 978-9987-08-008-3

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the publisher, or be otherwise circulated in any form of binding or cover other than that in which it is published and without a similar condition being imposed on the subsequent purchaser.

Colonial oppression is one of the most reprehensible forms of imperialism. The horror of such political power, to be condemned all the more strongly since it is directed against the weakest, not only humiliates the nation that makes use of it, it entirely destroys civilization as such.

The French novelist, Victor Margueritte,
in a message to the international
*Congress against Colonial Oppression and
Imperialism* in Brussels, 1927

Contents

Preface	ix
Introduction	1
1 Growing up in Dunda and Bagamoyo	5
2 Living under German colonial rule	15
3 At the School of Oriental Languages in Berlin	27
4 Marriage in 1904	41
5 Teaching German missionaries	53
6 At the Colonial Institute in Hamburg	64
7 1913: further discord	83
8 Back in Berlin	85
9 Reduced and forgotten	106
Résumé	103
Postscript on the writings of Mtoro Bakari	110
Abbreviations	120
References	122
Index	135
Sources of illustrations	140

Preface

The original intention of my research was to place an important Swahili author and his work into a wider historical context. The results, which I try to present in full detail here, expose the possibilities and limitations of writing the biography of a colonial subject, Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari, migrating to Germany at a time when the country had emerged as a colonial power. This study shows that this young man, after having acquired higher Islamic education in East Africa, had the capacity to become a recognized intellectual, albeit under different circumstances. The fact that he was systematically denied the chance of pursuing a corresponding career is a striking example of a potential that was not realized under the political and social conditions of European imperialism.

I wrote this book in English to make known his life history to intellectuals in East Africa and beyond. In general, English-speaking readers may wonder why the word “race” is put in inverted commas throughout, since the notion of different human “races” was widespread during the nineteenth century and continued to exist in Europe until recently. In Germany, however, a different tradition emerged after the end of the Nazi regime’s racist terror that killed millions of people. The great majority of Germans today hardly speak of “races” (*Rassen*), and anyone who does so might be suspected of supporting Nazi ideology. In most cases, this word cannot be directly translated into German and is replaced, for instance, by designations that refer to a person’s geographical origin, with differences being defined in political, cultural or linguistic terms. As a matter of principal, I am reluctant to use the words “race” and “racial” myself, even when speaking another language, and am happy to see that equivalents do not exist in Swahili.

Writing about an author whose life was closely linked to the history of East Africa and Germany naturally requires consideration of different sources and has to draw on studies in different disciplines. The quality of this study would not have been the same without the active support of the librarians and archivists working at the institutions listed below (on pages 130-131). Furthermore, I thank Daudi Mtelekezo, Samahani Kejeri, Mwalimu Mtumwa Mtoro Mwalingumu and Husein Abdallah Ali Kikola who accompanied me when I conducted a few interviews in Bagamoyo. Mugyabuso Mulokozi, professor at the Kiswahili Department of the University of Dar es Salaam, kindly wrote a letter which made it possible for me to check some files at the Tanzania National Archives and obtain permission from the relevant District Commissioners to look for relatives of Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari. Finally, I am grateful for comments on different versions of the manuscript made by various colleagues, namely Katrin Bromber, Peter Sebald, Harald Sippel,

Eginald Mihanjo, Hassan Adam, and to Joseph McIntyre, who appreciably improved the quality of the English text. Together with Harald Sippel, I wrote a shorter version of his biography, which contains most of the original German quotations used here (see the bibliography, page 142).

At this point in time, it is difficult to find any further information on Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari, although additional sources may exist, scattered in archives or private collections, or even in newspapers or books. I shall be glad to mention or cite anyone contributing new information used in any future publication, as e.g. in a second edition of this book. If you wish to do so, please contact me under *hs5a028@uni-hamburg.de* or ask the publisher for my current email address.

Hamburg in March 2008, Ludger Wimmelbücker

Introduction

This study presents the life history of a man who grew up and lived in the coastal area of East Africa during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, who then left for Germany where he lived and finally died in 1927. An African migrating to Europe in 1900 was not the exception it may seem from the perspective of ongoing globalization discourse. Migration actually dates back thousands of years, long before the modern concepts of continents and states emerged. Many parts of Africa were linked to Europe through trans-Saharan and maritime trade connections: North Africa was an essential part of Mediterranean culture since ancient times, West as well as Central and South Africa were integrated into the Atlantic world from the fifteenth century onwards, and East Africa already played a role in the commercial activities of the Indian Ocean rim some two millennia before the arrival of the Portuguese. As a tendency, communications intensified as the result of economic and political developments in Europe over the last five centuries, particularly after the expansion of capitalism and colonialism-imperialism in the nineteenth century.

In the 1880s Africa was among the last territories that fell under the political domination of Europe. After the partition of the continent the colonial regimes exercised control over the movement of their subjects, while, at the same time, they conceived of Africans, especially those living south of the Sahara, as “natives” or “tribes” confined to specific localities. In many respects, such ideas ran counter to both old and new patterns of migration and mobility within and beyond Africa. Moreover, the notion of “primitive races” bound to their respective realms of tradition contrasted sharply with the intensified exchange of ideas in which the colonized would increasingly participate. The attempts to terminate the Atlantic slave trade and abolish slavery in America since the 1780s, followed by the experience of colonial oppression and racial segregation one hundred years later, were central to the emergence of an overall African identity, one which implied a growing criticism of the assumed pre-eminence of the “white race” in history and modernization. This process largely unfolded in the Anglo-American world between Western Europe, North America, the Caribbean and West Africa, spreading to other parts of Africa in the early twentieth century and reaching East Africa during or after the First World War.

Before the partition of Africa, immigrants in Europe largely originated from North or West Africa, and they made up the majority of the African diaspora in Europe until recently. During the colonial period, Africans from other parts of the continent followed, often as servants or employees. Educating personnel for the administration of the colonies was a new chance

of obtaining a comparatively high status. The employment of non-Europeans in teaching positions, however, contradicted contemporary notions of Europe's moral, intellectual and cultural superiority. This was also true for teachers from countries held in a higher regard such as China, Persia, India, North Africa and Ethiopia, but especially for Africans from south of the Sahara who faced increasing racism and discrimination following the establishment of colonial regimes after 1885.

In Germany, the colonial propaganda and the establishment of colonial regimes in Africa and the South Seas were accompanied by the emergence of an extreme racism. This may be explained against the background of the German state, which was only founded in 1871 after a successful war against France and which attained the form of a constitutional monarchy with a strong ruler, who stood for militaristic tradition and an authoritarian society. As a tendency, German colonialists were particularly outspoken in regard to subduing and controlling the colonial subjects in a more stringent way than those European nations that looked back on a longer colonial history. Some justified their "exploitation" – a term used in regard to both colonial subjects and resources – by cynical interpretations of history, putting the power disparities resulting from the slave trade and the development of capitalism during the nineteenth century in the perspective of alleged racial differences.

Less extreme idea gained wider influence in political and social areas related to colonial policy, including academia and Christian missionary societies. Among the educated, distorted views such as the notion of "the primitive" within theories of human development reinforced cultural arrogance. Corresponding stereotypes – contrasting Christians and heathens, civilization and barbarism – contributed to the spread of a markedly negative image of Africa and Africans. Contemporary Germans were not free from these influences, but they were far from generally subscribing to such ideas, as many lacked any interest in supporting the colonial regimes or were even opposed to colonialism as such. This book presents the life history of an African who encountered all these different attitudes as an immigrant in Germany.¹

Historically, his biography is situated between two very different experiences, firstly, the Atlantic slave trade and, secondly, the political history of Africa. The wide dispersal and traumatic relocation of Africans within the western hemisphere as well as the abolition discourse had a profound impact on American and European societies, which influenced the living conditions of the African diaspora. The study of the American experience gave rise to increased interest in African immigration in Europe over the last three

¹ There is a growing literature on the far-reaching intellectual and social implications of German colonialism in Germany itself, see e.g. Alexander Honold & Klaus R. Scherpe (eds.), *Mit Deutschland um die Welt: Eine Kulturgeschichte des Fremden in der Kolonialzeit*, Stuttgart, 2004.

decades², the Black European Studies (BEST) network being set up in 2004.³ Furthermore, this biography should be seen in the context of the political history of Africa. Taking on the collective identities of being “black” or “African”, originally ascribed by Europeans, was essential to the emergence of anti-colonial consciousness and resistance, particularly from the 1920s onwards, finally leading to nationalism and the transformation of colonial administrations into sovereign states. Prominent figures of the liberation struggle, such as Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere, who developed their political consciousness both during and after their studies abroad, were part of a context that cannot be easily compared with earlier situations.

Eighty years after the death of Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari oral information is scarce, and this study relies largely on archival material and contemporary publications. The available sources mainly allow us to reconstruct aspects of Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari’s professional life and the consequences of his marriage to a German woman in 1904. Apart from his publications, little has remained of what Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari produced himself. There are no known photographs of him.⁴ In the eyes of those contemporaries who wrote about him, namely employees of the Colonial Office and the institutions where he worked, he appears as an inferior or marginal personality. The lack of adequate sources means that many questions are difficult to answer. Much has to be inferred from the statements of others and presented on a plausibility basis. As a rule, information on the historical context in which he was living is much more consistent than information on Mtoro Bakari himself. Despite these limitations, his life history not only opens revealing perspectives on the interplay of metropolitan and colonial history during the heyday of European imperialism, but also offers insights into the contribution of the colonized to the study of African languages and cultures in this historical context.

Naturally, Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari’s story contains similarities and differences when compared with the situation of African immigrants today. The fact that cultural divergence was more pronounced in former times can be seen in the modification of his name. On his arrival in Germany he called himself Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari.⁵ This name continued to be used in order

² Major studies of the presence of Africans in Europe and Germany are: Hans Werner Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe. A History of Africans in Europe before 1918*, Basel, 1979; Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren: Afrikaner in Bewußtsein und Geschichte der Deutschen*, Hamburg, 1993; cf. Jürgen Jensen, *Africans in Europe – A Bibliography*, Münster, 2002. – For recent publications see e.g. the books of M. Bechhaus-Gerst (et al.), F. El-Tayeb, G. Höpp, J. McIntyre (et al.), M. Opitz (et al.), and K. Oguntoye in the bibliography.

³ For BEST see <http://www.best.uni-mainz.de> (March 2008); for Black Germans and their organizations in Germany see e.g. <http://www.isdonline.de/> (in German, March 2008).

⁴ For collections of historical photographs see the list of archives on pages 130-131.

⁵ The original spelling of Swahili words and names was not changed in the footnotes and

to identify him as a Swahili, i.e. the son of the respected man, or “Mwinyi”, Bakari. The original spelling of this title, “Mwenyi”, indicates that his father was not an exceptionally rich or politically influential person.⁶ In East Africa he would be addressed as “Mtoro” or “mwalimu Mtoro” (teacher Mtoro), but, in Germany to call an adult by his first name could be understood as an indication of a juvenile or inferior status. According to European language conventions, which developed over the last five centuries, adults are generally addressed by their last names, while only youths, relatives and adult friends would be called by their first names. Officially, in Germany the name of Mtoro’s father tended to be used as a surname so that he was normally called “Mtoro Bakari” or “Herr Bakari”, but also “Herr Mtoro” or simply “Mtoro”. Addressing him as “Herr Bakari” expresses at least the same kind of respect as the English rendering “Mr. Bakari”. He himself came to use this version of his name, which concurs with more recent naming practices in East Africa. Therefore, in this study he is referred to as “Mtoro Bakari”.

Leaving East Africa in 1900 in order to work as a Swahili lecturer in Germany, Mtoro Bakari’s biography takes us back to the political situation on the East African littoral during the closing decades of the nineteenth century, and to the early years of the colonial regime in German East Africa (Tanganyika). This story also brings us back to the early days of the study and teaching of African languages in Germany, when these academic pursuits were closely linked to endeavours to establish and intensify imperial influence. Beginning with the next chapter, Mtoro Bakari’s life history will be presented in chronological order. The Postscript critically reviews his writings which, produced between 1900 and 1903, reflect his frame of mind during the early years of his stay in Germany. In particular, it deals with questions of authorship and authenticity regarding his major work, the *Desturi za Wasuabeli* (Customs of the Swahili people), which was edited and translated by Carl Velten, under whose name both the Swahili and the separate German version were published.⁷

bibliography, but, in the main text, the modern orthography was normally used. Thus, the name Sleman is written as Sulaiman, Amur as Amour, and Mwenyi or Muenyi as Mwinyi.

⁶ The Swahili title *Mwinyi*, which is related to the Bantu word *mwenye* (owner), was generally used for addressing socially recognized men, e.g. by slaves talking to a slave owner. Carl Velten, Mtoro’s superior in Berlin, chose the spelling “Mwenyi” to indicate that the word was used as a name only. He applied the same principle to titles of people who did not, in his eyes, have the same status as a *Mwinyi*, as was the case with “Mwenyi” Bakari, Makubi and Makanda’s father Mkuu (cf. pages 15-16, 23/27).

⁷ C. Velten, *Desturi za Wasuabeli na Khabari za desturi za sheri’a za Wasuabeli*, Göttingen, 1903; C. Velten, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suabeli nebst einem Anhang über Rechtsgewohnheiten der Suabeli*, Göttingen, 1903.

1

Growing up in Dunda and Bagamoyo

They do neither have a religion nor know how to read (the Quran).

They do not have a religion apart from their belief in ancestor spirits and sacrifices.

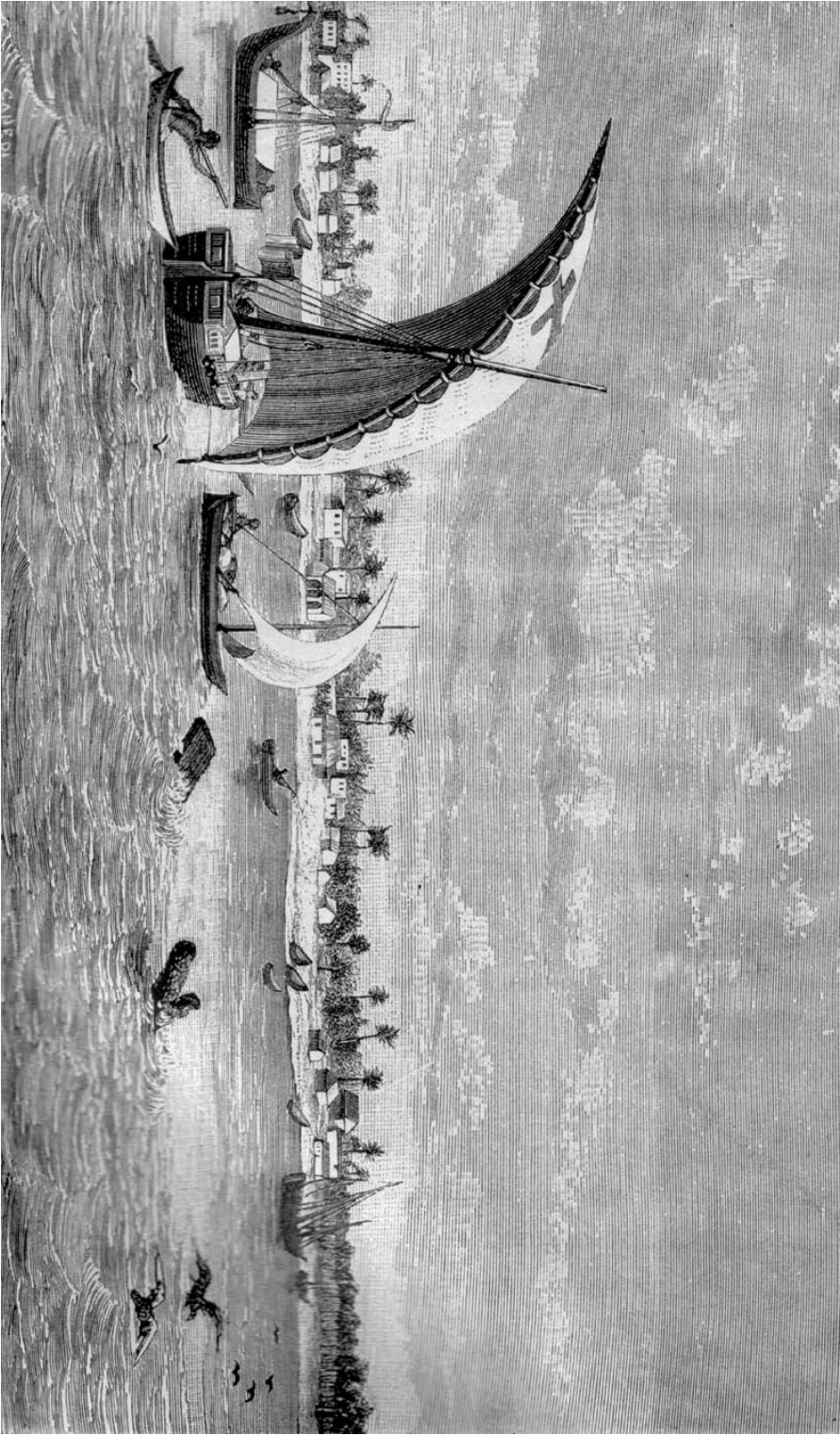
Mtoro Bakari on the Doe and Zaramo people respectively

The industrial production of commodities, such as metals, beads, cloths and firearms, and the growing demand of ivory on the world market increasingly stimulated commercial activities on the East African mainland during the nineteenth century. Trade networks extended up to Lake Tanganyika and beyond, with caravans from the coast following the expanding trade routes. Both men and women took advantage of these changes, for instance by working as traders and porters, or by selling hunting produce or food to the caravans. But the ensuing social and political transformations were also accompanied by negative developments, such as increasing violence, the expanding slave trade and the spread of infectious diseases. Population declined in many places, though it grew in some coastal towns and other centres of trade. The commercial upsurge attracted more and more immigrants from the Arabian Peninsula and India, as well as a number of Europeans. Expanding his activities on the East African Coast in the 1830s, the Sultan of Oman won control over the most important ports in East Africa and finally shifted his residence from Muscat to Zanzibar. The backing of European powers both facilitated and limited his political achievements. The number of slaves on the East African littoral temporarily increased after British ships began to hinder the export of slaves to the Indian Ocean islands and Arabia in the 1870s.

Mtoro Bakari was born during this period, i.e. most likely during the final years of the 1860s. His official date of birth (October 3rd, 1869) was fixed either by the District Office in Bagamoyo or at the time when he had to register on his arrival in Berlin in 1900. On later occasions he stated that he did not know his exact age and estimated that he was born in 1864 or 1875.¹

¹ Information kindly provided by the state archives in Berlin and Hamburg from the historical registration files (Landesarchiv Berlin: Historische Berliner Einwohnermeldekartei 1875-1960; StA HH 332-8, A30: Toten- und Verzozenendatei). When he applied for a birth certificate in 1904 Mtoro Bakari mentioned that he did not know his date of birth and

1.1 Bagamoyo as seen by a Catholic missionary in 1882



His place of birth was Dunda, a small settlement close to a shallow section or ford of the Ruvu (Kingani) River about twenty kilometres southwest of Bagamoyo. Until the 1850s a major caravan route leading to Unyamwezi (western Tanzania) and beyond passed along the southern bank of the river and offered growing trade opportunities for the people living in its vicinity. From the 1860s on, however, caravans used to cross the Ruvu shortly after leaving Bagamoyo, traversing the more arid area north of the river. Apparently, this was a reaction to the formation of the Mbunga confederacy in the Mahenge area which extended its influence up to the Uluguru Mountains and partly destabilized the regions east of Morogoro.²

While Bagamoyo remained the most important port of trans-shipment on the East African mainland until the turn of the century, the Zaramo people in the west were thus partly cut off from participation in the long-distance trade. As a general tendency, the increasing commerce rendered it possible for the merchants of Zanzibar to extend their influence, and for the Sultan to consolidate his position vis-à-vis political leaders at the coast.³ In the context of these changing economic and political conditions Mtoro Bakari's parents moved from Dunda to Bagamoyo, where he as well as his mother and sister evidently lived in the 1890s. On occasion, he used to come back to Dunda to visit relatives; he mentions his father's elder brother and his brothers Abdallah and Slemani.⁴ The fact that his work rarely refers to any aspect of the maritime world may indicate that he never visited Zanzibar, which is situated at a sailing distance of only a few hours from Bagamoyo.

By applying the Swahili title "Mwinyi" to his father, Mtoro Bakari expressed that he was the son of a respected Muslim, who had died in

estimated that he was about 29 years old, thus making himself 5-6 years younger than before. Note of 25 August 1904 (BArch R1001/5422, 3). The personal information sheet, which he signed on 21 March 1911, shows that he was born in 1864, cf. his personal file (StA HH 361-6, V 156).

² The Mbunga were also called *Mafiti* and are practically identical with the Mahenge, according to Lorne E. Larson, 'History of the Mbunga Confederacy ca.1860-1907', *TNR*, 81-82 (1977), 35-42. Mbunga attacks on caravans coming from Bagamoyo took place as late as 1905, i.e. at the beginning of the Maji Maji War, cf. Thaddeus Sunseri, 'Statist Narratives and Maji Maji Ellipses', *IJAHIS*, 33/3 (2000), 567-584.

³ Walter T. Brown, 'The Politics of Business: Relations between Zanzibar and Bagamoyo in the Late Nineteenth Century', *AHS*, 4/3 (1971), 631-643.

⁴ The account of the journey he made between 1892 and 1896 (cf. footnote 10 on page 28) refers to them, as well as to his mother and his sister in Bagamoyo, cf. Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari, 'Safari yangu ya Udoe hatta Uzigua na habari za Wadoe na mila yao', in Carl Velten, *Safari za Wasuaheli*, Göttingen, 1901, 126, 128, 135, 138; 'Meine Reise nach Udoe bis Uzigua sowie Geschichtliches über die Wadoe und Sitten und Gebräuche derselben', in Carl Velten, *Schilderungen der Suaheli von Expeditionen v. Wißmann, Dr. Bumillers, Graf v. Götzens, und Anderer*, Göttingen, 1901, 138, 140-141, 148-149, 152.

Bagamoyo by the mid-1890s.⁵ He also identified a grandfather of his as being a “Mwinyi”, namely Makubi bin Chuma who was an influential man in Matimbwa some ten kilometres west of Bagamoyo and south of the Ruvu River. It is said that Mwinyi Makubi, who like his father originally came from the Uluguru region, successively moved closer to the coast in the course of his life and used to trade in goats and various kinds of hides.⁶ His activities were actually part of a widespread increase in communication between Bagamoyo and western Uluguru which stimulated the spread of Islam beyond the coastal areas during the nineteenth century.⁷ In this context, both Mtoro Bakari’s father and grandfather seem to have been socially successful persons who accumulated some wealth, not only as traders but also as owners of small plantations. It is likely that Mtoro Bakari inherited a piece of land because he still owned “some land” in Bagamoyo after he went to Germany.⁸ Considering the reputation of his father Mwinyi Bakari, Mtoro’s mother may not have been his only wife. Her name, which seems to have been Hawa or Kidawa binti Marera⁹, indicates that her father might have been a Zaramo.

In all, his origin seems to have offered Mtoro Bakari more social than economic advantages, namely the opportunity to study the Quran and Arabic for several years. Presumably with relatives paying the necessary fees for enrolment, he eventually attended the class for higher Islamic sciences (*‘lim*) of the known scholar and religious leader (*Shebe*, Arabic: *Shaykh*) Abu Bakr bin Taha al-Jabri from Brava (Somalia) who was a member of the Uwaysiya branch of the Qadiriyya brotherhood.¹⁰ Its founder, Shaykh Uways bin

⁵ Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari, ‘Safari yangu ya Udoe hatta Uzigua’, 131; ‘Meine Reise nach Udoe bis Uzigua’, 143. His father died in Bagamoyo according to a letter of the District Office dated 25 August 1904 (BArch R1001/5422, 6).

⁶ From a certain place in Uluguru Makubi moved through various settlements, e.g. Vihingo and Dutumi. Some of his progeny live in the Morogoro area until today. His father Chuma was buried in Dunda. (Personal communication of Mrisho Abdallah Shomvi Makubi and Hamisi Rajabu Makubi, Sunguvuni in October 2004).

⁷ For the coastal connections of members of a Bena ruling clan in Uluguru, Kingalu mwana Shaha and Mwana Makuka, see Edward Alpers, ‘Kingalu Mwana Shaha & Political Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Tanzania’, in G.H. Maddox & J.L. Giblin (eds.), *In Search of a Nation*, Oxford, 2005, 33-54.

⁸ His letter of 8 January 1906 addressed to the German Kaiser also mentions that his mother was still alive at that time (BArch R1001/5422, 24). His German wife also stated that he had some land according to a note of 20 June 1907 (BArch R1001/5422, 41). It appears that this land was small since there is no trace of any “Bakari” or a child of his in contemporary land files which contain references to more than 300 plantations in the vicinity of Bagamoyo (cf. TNA G7/9, G32/1, G32/11, G32/15-16, G32/27, G32/31, and G32/35).

⁹ This seems to be the most plausible rendering of her name as recorded by the District Office in Bagamoyo, “Daua binti Mhera”, cf. the document dated 25 August 1904 (BArch R1001/5422, 6).

¹⁰ Cf. C.H. Becker, ‘Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika’, *Der Islam*, 2

Muhammad al-Barawi, repeatedly came to Zanzibar from the early 1880s onwards and visited various places on the mainland, including Bagamoyo, until he was assassinated by the follower of a rival brotherhood in 1909.¹¹ The Qadiriyya, the Sufi order to which this brotherhood belonged, had a wide appeal as it combined drumming and singing with *manlid* and *dhiker* recitations and integrated men and women of low social status including slaves. Such performances were not generally African, but originated from southern Arabia.¹²

These religious practices not only led to massive conversions but also tended to challenge the authority of Muslim patricians in the town centres.¹³ Contributing to a revitalization of Islam, the Uwaysiya Qadiriyya, including *Shebe* Abu Bakr, came to be viewed as a threat in colonial eyes. In 1908 he was involved in spreading a document “purported to be an account of one Sheikh Ahmad, Keeper of the Prophets Tomb, of a vision in which Mohammed instructed him to warn all Muslims that the Day of Judgement was approaching, and that they must therefore return to piety and discipline, holding themselves aloof from unbelievers”. Thus, Abu Bakr came into conflict with Amour bin Nassor, the highest African functionary (*linwali*) of the colonial administration in Bagamoyo, who was opposed to the movement.¹⁴ Mtoro Bakari must have become aware of the brotherhood’s activities, which extended as far as the western Congo and Nyasaland since the last decades of the nineteenth century. In the regions around Lake Tanganyika the Uwaysiya Qadiriyya was widely known as the *Mulidi* or *Muridi* (cf. Swahili: *manlidi*) movement.¹⁵

His own writings indicate that he was actually influenced by the more

(1911), 5 footnote 1.

¹¹ Bradford G. Martin, ‘Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways b. Muhammad al-Barawi and the Qadiriyya Brotherhood in East Africa’, *JAH*, 10/3 (1969), 474, 484-485; cf. B.G. Martin (1976), *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth Century Africa*, Cambridge, 158-165. For the development of the Qadiriyya in Bagamoyo after 1900 see August H. Nimtz, *Islam and Politics in East Africa: The Sufi Order in Tanzania*, Minneapolis, 1980, 118-152; and for its development in Zanzibar, where it had been firmly established since the end of the nineteenth century, see Amina A. Issa, ‘The Legacy of Qadiriyya Scholars in Zanzibar’, in R. Loimeier & R. Seesemann (eds.), *The Global Worlds of the Swahili*, Berlin, 2006, 343-361.

¹² Cf. Rüdiger Seesemann, ‘African Islam or Islam in Africa? Evidence from Kenya’, in R. Loimeier & R. Seesemann (eds.), *The Global Worlds of the Swahili*, Berlin, 2006, 229-250.

¹³ For more details see Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot – Revelry, Rebellion and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888*, Portsmouth, 1995, 138-145; Randall L. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent: Cultural change and traditional Islam on the East African coast, 800-1900*, Cambridge, 1987, 196-201.

¹⁴ The German colonial authorities called it “Mecca letter(s)” and linked it to an increasing emphasis on Mahdist doctrine in the current teachings of East African Islam. John Iliffe, *Tanganyika under German Rule, 1905-1912*, Cambridge, 1969, 190-191, 197.

¹⁵ B.G. Martin, ‘Muslim Politics’, 485.

popular or “Swahili” forms of Islam. Notably, the *Desturi za Wasuabeli* mentions tambourines and singing in connection with *maulid* celebrations and distinguishes between two types practiced by the “Arabs” and “Swahili” respectively.¹⁶ The *maulid* of Barzanji actually centred on recitation commemorating Mohammed’s birthday and took place in socially exclusive ways, while the second one, the *maulid sharaf al-anam*, was not only based on another Arabic text and the belief in the Prophet’s attendance at the ceremony but also performed on a wide range of occasions.¹⁷ Facilitating access to basic and higher Islamic education for young men not belonging to the patrician circles (established families and merchants in coastal towns), the influence of the Qadiriyya must have rendered it easier for him to attain the position of a “learned man” or “teacher” (*mwalimu*). According to the *Desturi* this included obligations like *maulid* recitations of the Quran, the solemnization of marriages, the instruction of converts and the writing down of extracts from the Quran for the fabrication of amulets or other magical purposes. Moreover, it is said that *Shehe* Abu Bakr regularly sent him to preach the Friday sermon, which means that he took over some of the duties of an imam.¹⁸ He must have done so in the Friday Mosque¹⁹ and possibly also at less important places such as the Songoro Mosque²⁰ in Bagamoyo. The

¹⁶ C. Velten, *Desturi*, 13-15, 161; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 13-15, 197. The English translation does not refer to the singing, cf. J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *The Customs of the Swahili People: The Desturi za Wasuabeli of Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari and Other Swahili Persons*, Berkeley, 1981, 108-109.

¹⁷ See the analysis of corresponding *maulid* celebrations in Lamu in Abdul Hamid M. el Zein, *The Sacred Meadows: A Structural Analysis of Religious Symbolism in an East African Town*, Evanston, 1974, 40-43, 93, 97, 100, cf. 109-115. The text of the *maulid* of Barzanji was written by Kurdish scholar and *qadi* of Medina Jafar bin Hasan al-Barzanji in the 18th century, cf. the Swahili version written down for Gustav Denhardt in 1891 and published by Gustav Neuhaus (ed.), ‘Kitabu Mauludi. Buch der Geburt Muhammed’s. Suaheli-Gedicht des Lamu-Mannes Scharifu Mansabu bin Scharifu Abdurrahmani al-Hussaini’, *MSOS*, 38 (1935), 145-201. For the *maulid sharaf al-anam* as reported in Dar es Salaam during the 1890s see H. Zache, ‘Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli’, *ZfE*, 31 (1899), 67, 70; cf. C.H. Becker, ‘Materialien’, 27-28; ‘Feste des Islam’, in H. Schnee (ed.), *Deutsches Koloniallexikon*, Berlin, 1920, vol.1, 607.

¹⁸ N.Q. King, ‘Preface’, in J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, ix.

¹⁹ *Shehe* Abu Bakr was the imam of the Friday Mosque (*Msikiti wa Ijuma*) and died around 1910/11 according to A.H. Nimitz, *Islam and Politics in East Africa*, 105, 121, 135. His house was situated close to the Friday Mosque (*Msikiti wa Ijuma*) and the Ibadi Mosque (*Msikiti wa Ibadi*) (personal communication of Mwalimu Mtumwa Mtoro Mwingimu and *Shehe* Abdallah Masoudi Jumbe, Bagamoyo in September 2004). The Friday Mosque is the only mosque mentioned in the *Desturi za Wasuabeli* (p. 271-272).

²⁰ This mosque is mentioned in an account of a journey, which must have taken place between 1898 and 1900 for it refers to taxation and famine. The narrator called himself “Mtoro”. Since none of the contributors mentioned in the Preface of the book in which the account was published bears this name it is likely that Mtoro Bakari is the author. Anonymous, ‘Habari ya safari ya Uzaramu Madimla. Beschreibung einer Reise nach Madimla in Uzaramu’, in Carl Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, Berlin, 1907, 234-240.

income accruing from this work, as expressed in two sections of the *Desturi*, was apparently unreliable and motivated him to look for alternative occupations.²¹

While growing up in Dunda Mtoro Bakari lived on the interface of at least three different cultures. Owing to his patrilineal descent he might be viewed as a Zaramo, but he was also closely acquainted with the Doe people, and by realizing his educational aspirations in a flourishing coastal town he acquired central elements of Swahili identity. Apart from the Africans who came from various regions in the west he met people representing the societies of the Indian Ocean rim and beyond. This multi-cultural context offered wide-ranging opportunities to the people of Bagamoyo for reflecting on different beliefs and practices, adopting or tolerating some while detaching themselves from others.

The Islamic religion was a key point of orientation for Mtoro Bakari, presumably more than for his parents. Corresponding practices and networks, which gained importance in East Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century, contributed to the translocal appeal of coastal culture. Related values and beliefs, including Swahili notions of civilization, were influential in the formation of distinct identities. Mtoro Bakari distanced himself from his upcountry origins in various ways. An autobiographical section of the *Desturi za Wasuabeli* illustrates this. When finishing a chapter on spirit possession Mtoro Bakari recalled that as a young man he himself had been troubled by a spirit called Dungumaro. Thus, he wrote about the practice of exorcising or reducing spirits (Swahili: *kupunga pepo*):²²

Swahili women and some men believe in the spirits and that if a person is possessed it must be reduced. If a woman is sick, she says to her husband, "Have me reduced." If he does not, there is endless trouble in the house, and she gets thinner and thinner. Men do their own reduction when they are possessed. Others do not take it seriously at all. I once had an illness of the ribs and limbs. A doctor was called in to treat me, and he brought me Dungumaro steam for seven days. Then he said to my parents: "Mtoro has the Dungumaro. Do not let him eat mutton or anything fried with onions." My parents believed him. One day he said: "He is all right now, but let us reduce him so that the spirit lets him rest." My parents agreed. But when my teacher heard that I was to be reduced, he forbade me, saying: "Are you not ashamed to dance in the yard in the sight of everybody?" I was ashamed, and I told my parents that I would not be reduced. My mother was much frightened by my refusal, and when the doctor heard it, he prohibited me from eating mutton and said: "If he eats mutton Mtoro will die."

²¹ The monthly income of 25 rupees for "teachers" who functioned as imams at the same time, 10-15 rupees for private teachers, plus fees for non-teaching services as reported in the *Desturi* were payments which in reality were not always easy to obtain, cf. C. Velten, *Desturi*, 39, 41-42, 49, 51; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 44, 46-47, 54, 56.

²² Cf. C. Velten, *Desturi*, 147-148; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 180-181; J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 100.

One day my teacher was asked to a party and I with him. The Arab host had killed a sheep, and my teacher said to me: "This is mutton. Are you going to eat it?" I said I did not know, and he said: "Put your trust in God. There is no spirit, it is nonsense." I ate the mutton, and when I went home I told my mother that I had done so. She was horrified and said: "Why did you do that? Do you not value your life?" I waited for five or six days and had no pain from head to foot, and now here I am in Berlin.

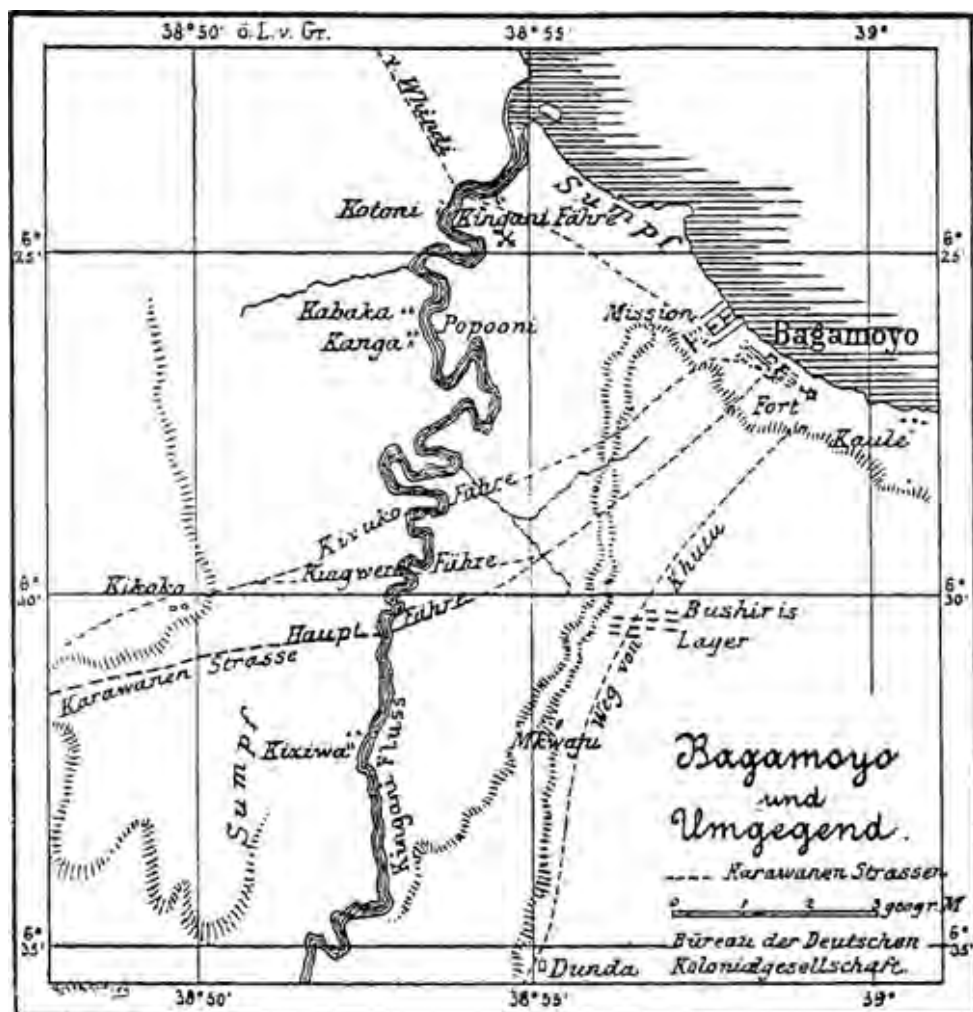
This explanation of his personal experiences, which were shaped by the intervention of his teacher, suggests that Mtoro Bakari had adopted a sceptical position in regard to the influence of spirits. Moreover, he generally acknowledged the existence of non-believers, in particular men, which concurs with the fact that it is mainly women who find ways of overcoming social restraints by expressing themselves through spirit possession. The Islamic background of his views reminds one of Christian approaches towards African religions since both the Bible and the Quran with their monotheistic orientation tend to limit the belief in spirits, while they also acknowledge their existence. The quotation indicates that Mtoro Bakari saw himself as someone who had attained some knowledge of these contradictions, being able to identify superstition and obsolete beliefs on the basis of his Islamic faith.²³ This conception of himself aptly fits with the status of an educated person or a Quranic school teacher, a status he must have attained in the mid-1890s when he was about 25 years old or slightly older.²⁴ The shame he felt when being asked to dance in the open may be read against the background of Swahili ideas about civilization, which changed in accordance with the increasing influence of Arabic culture since the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁵ All in all, it seems that his "critical view" dates back before the time when he was employed by the colonial administration, when he came in closer contact with European ideas regarding the existence of spirits and the efficacy of magical practices.

The increasing European presence in the region was already discernible after Richard Francis Burton and John Hanning Speke started their expedition in search for the source of the Nile in 1857. They naturally took advantage of existing trade routes. They started from the coastal town of Kaole, a military and administrative centre of the Sultan of Zanzibar about

²³ Carl Heinrich Becker quoted from the same passage of the *Desturi* and construed the reaction of Mtoro Bakari as the result of his Islamic education and trust in God. C.H. Becker, 'Materialien', 33-34; C.H. Becker (1932), 'Ein Missionar über den Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', in C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig, vol.2, 1932, vol.2, 119.

²⁴ Students attending classes in higher Islamic science were about 20-25 years old according to C. Velten, *Desturi*, 46; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 52.

²⁵ With the growing prestige of the Arabic sultanate in Zanzibar the Swahili notion of civilization shifted from *uungwana* to *ustaarabu* at that time, according to R.L. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*, 128-130.



1.2 German map of 1889 showing caravan routes near Bagamoyo

five kilometres south of Bagamoyo, and passed along the Ruvu River, touching Dunda on their way. John Hanning Speke and James Augustus Grant did the same again in 1860, but beginning with Father Anthony Horner in 1866 and Henry Morton Stanley in 1871, European parties used to cross the Ruvu before reaching Dunda, following various routes north of the river. Just like other caravans, they thus tried to circumvent the Mbunga and Hehe confederacies which both emerged in the 1860s.

The shift of trade routes is a chronologically appropriate explanation for the decline of Kaole which apparently was already underway in the 1850s.²⁶ In

²⁶ Notably, in 1855 a report on caravan routes included Mbwamaji (situated some 10km

addition, it was stimulated by ecological factors, namely a possible drop in the sea level leading to siltation and the growth of mangroves in Kaole, and the existence of fertile land suitable for rice production at the Ruvu River which facilitated the emergence of a larger population in Bagamoyo.²⁷ As a consequence, the latter became one of the most important bases for caravans on the East African coast during the following years. Therefore, much of the activities of the Europeans in East Africa, who used to organize their expeditions in Zanzibar and at the adjacent mainland during the nineteenth century, were well known in Bagamoyo. Unsurprisingly, members of the Congregation of the Spiritans, a French missionary society who came to Zanzibar in 1863 and used Swahili for their missionary work, chose a site north of Bagamoyo town for building the first station on the mainland in 1868. Spreading Christianity largely by ransoming slaves and settling them in “Freedom Villages” in the vicinity of the mission²⁸ they did not exert much direct influence in the town, unlike the German colonizers who resided in Bagamoyo from 1885 onwards and started taking political control three years later.

south of Dar es Salaam) and Bagamoyo but not Kaole, cf. the map attached to James Erhardt, ‘Reports respecting Central Africa, as collected in Mambara [i.e. Mombasa] and on the East Coast’, *PRGS*, 1/1 (1855), 8-10.

²⁷ These ecological reasons have figured highly in explaining the decay of Kaole, but a recent study dates the drop of the sea level between 1500 and 1800 and instead considers the influence of Omani immigrants in Zanzibar and the arrival of the Swahili Shomvi clan in the Bagamoyo area, both of which already occurred around 1700, cf. W.T. Brown, ‘Bagamoyo: An Historical Introduction’, *TNR*, 71 (1970), 70; Felix Chami, Eliwasa Maro, Jane Kessy & Simon Odunga, *Historical Archaeology of Bagamoyo: Excavations at the Caravan-Serai*, Dar es Salaam, 2004, 17-18.

²⁸ The redemption commenced in 1870, cf. the figures in Johannes Henschel, Felix Ndunguru & Wiliam Kadelya, *The Two Worlds: Bagamoyo and Slavery in the 19th Century*, Bagamoyo, 2000, 5-10; see also Johannes Henschel, *Alles begann in Bagamoyo: 100 Jahre Kirche in Ostafrika*, Aachen, 1983, 9-49.

2

Living under German colonial rule

Facing his own regiment
the German leader announced:
“Our aim is to govern Africa.
When we arrive there
we’ll tell the Sultan that
he should surrender the towns to us
and we shall consent to pay him tax.”

*From a poem of Makanda bin Mwinyi Mkuu
on the war in Bagamoyo District*

The colonial influence actually commenced with the presence of the German colonialists who began to shift the main basis of their operations from Zanzibar to Bagamoyo and to build stations further inland in 1886. At that time their financial resources and military capacity were rather limited, and some of them tried to overcome this weakness by frequently using force and violence in pursuance of their mission. On the other hand, the establishment of colonial stations sometimes implicated material or political advantages for the people living in their vicinity, as for instance increased opportunities for obtaining coastal goods in exchange for services, labour and local products, or for profiting from their military and political backing. There are indications that this was partly the case in Dunda where a station of the German East African Society, a chartered company that ruled the colony independently of the German state, existed from March 1886 until it was destroyed and abandoned in 1889. At first, it was built right on the riverbank in order to control the traffic on the Ruvu River. When this initiative proved to be fruitless because of its insufficient navigability, the colonizers shifted the station to a higher place in the vicinity of settlements to avoid malaria infections. Their political influence was limited, as well as their agricultural activities.¹ Certainly, the colonial presence was of greater relevance for members of his family than for Mtoro Bakari himself, who must have moved

¹ See the report of the first station head: Eugen Krenzler, *Ein Jahr in Ostafrika*, Ulm, 1888; cf. J. Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 190-193, 211-212. In August 1887 a visitor noticed the lack of development in Dunda: Hans Meyer, *Zum Schneedom des Kilimandscharo*, Berlin, 1888, 23; cf. Fritz Ferdinand Müller, *Deutschland – Zanzibar – Ostafrika: Geschichte einer Kolonialeroberung 1884-1890*, Berlin, 1959, 230, 539-540.

to Bagamoyo before 1886. But still, it is possible that he went to see the station or even worked there temporarily.

After all, the activities of the German colonialists did not change much until they formally acquired the right of collecting customs duties from the Sultan of Zanzibar and proclaimed their intention of administering the coastal area that today belongs to Tanzania. The conflict with local authorities started with the “flag dispute” on 16 August 1888. Members of the German East African Society were eager to ascertain their supremacy and eventually cut down the flagpole of the Sultan’s representative in Bagamoyo. The undisguised attempt at taking political control annoyed not only the subjects and allies of Sultan Khalifa al-Busaidi but, to even a greater extent, those influential men who did not depend on him politically or belonged to rivalling groups, among them Bwana Heri in Saadani and Bushiri bin Salim al-Harhi in Pangani. The beginning of active resistance on the entire coast of German East Africa provoked prompt and brutal military action. In Bagamoyo, the forces of the German East African Society killed more than 100 people and destroyed a large part of the town in an immediate attempt to terminate an alleged uprising on 22 September 1888. While the effect of such demonstrations of power was limited, the colonizers instantly adopted the idea of conquering the colony through a strategy of terror and oppression aimed at intimidating potential adversaries.

In actual fact, the different anti-colonial movements got the upper hand and took control of all coastal towns except Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo. However, after a few months it emerged that they were not in a position to



2.1 Station of the German East African Society in Dunda in August 1887

expel the enemy completely, nor could they secure their political autonomy against the Sultan of Zanzibar, under whose authority the Germans officially acted. In the north Bushiri and his allies controlled Pangani and moved to the hinterland of Bagamoyo, where they looked for additional allies further inland, namely among the Mbunga and Hehe.² These peoples' interest in extending their own influence and directly profiting from the war finally brought them into conflict with Bushiri whose main objective was to expel the Germans. Facing a shortage of food in 1889 and having been attacked by military expeditions throughout, this temporary alliance increasingly adopted harsh methods of warfare and they attacked those who did not join their cause.

As a consequence of the war many areas fell victim to violence and destruction, not least the settlements around Dunda.³ A large part of the surviving population, certainly including relatives and friends of Mtoro Bakari, seriously suffered from the violence and the resulting political instability. Thousands of people took to flight, for instance by moving close to the Catholic mission in Bagamoyo which tried to maintain a neutral position, or even accepting the support of the colonizers. In the end, only the backing of the colonial victors (with their African allies) rendered it possible for the refugees to return to their home areas. In the hinterland of Bagamoyo open resistance declined after Bushiri was hanged in Pangani on 15 December 1889, while fighting continued for some months on the northern and southern parts of coast. The ultimate consequence of the war was the transfer of the colony's administration from the German East African Society, which was not capable of providing the necessary military input, to the German state on January 1st, 1890.

A substantial part of those opposing colonial intervention must have been happy to see the war end, despite having to accept its political consequences, with the Germans swiftly changing their role from being agents of the Sultan to representing an emerging colonial power. Africans were widely impressed by German firepower or were won over by the strength of the "nation of the Kaiser" (*dola ya bwana kaiṣa*).⁴ Some changed sides and praised the colonial

² The Zaramo Visinga sent *jumbe* Marera and Pangire to call the *Mafiti* according to an account written around 1896: Anonymous, 'Hiki kissa cha zamani za Bagamoyo. Geschichtliches aus früheren Zeiten von Bagamojo', in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie*, 305, cf. II. – See the map on page 21 showing the position of Bushiri's camp (*Bushiris Lager*).

³ Participants on the German side naturally emphasized the brutality of their enemies, cf. in particular Hugold Felix von Behr, *Kriegsbilder aus dem Araberaufstand in Deutsch-Ostafrika*, Leipzig, 1891, 261-289; Georg Richelmann, *Meine Erlebnisse in der Wissmann-Truppe*, Magdeburg, 1892, 164-213; Rochus Schmidt, *Geschichte des Araberaufstandes in Ost-Afrika*, Frankfurt/Oder, 1892, 141-149, 220-221, 318-319.

⁴ Anonymous, 'Hiki kissa cha zamani za Bagamoyo', 305; cf. J. Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 204, 212, 234, 260-261.



2.2 Refugees near the Catholic mission in Bagamoyo in 1888/89



2.3

A drawing of
Makanda and
Bushiri
published in
1892

regime in retrospect, as indicated by poems written by Makanda bin Mwinyi Mkuu from Bagamoyo and other Swahili authors during the 1890s.⁵ Bwana Heri, who had given up his resistance in May 1890, temporarily resumed the fight in 1894 and then lived in exile in Zanzibar. Another eyewitness, Mbunga Abdallah from Kisaki, emphasized that both the colonial authorities and their African opponents had been tired of the war and were interested in ending it.⁶ In fact, the colonizers usually accepted any semblance of peace after demonstrating their military power in order to “pacify” the country, while their adversaries stopped squandering their numerical superiority in repeated and bloody engagements against machine-guns. After all, Africans tended to recognize colonial claims of political domination, without necessarily seeing themselves as having been irrevocably defeated or accepting the colonizers’ idea of conquest and subjugation.

Colonial ambitions were hardly known or relevant before the military intervention. As a resident of Bagamoyo, Mtoro Bakari probably saw the massacre of the alleged insurgents, which marked the beginning of the war, with his own eyes. Furthermore, he must have experienced at first hand the hardship faced by his relatives and friends after anti-German forces attacked Dunda. It is plausible that he shared the negative attitude towards the colonial regime that prevailed in Bagamoyo after the war and kept his distance from the European residents for some years. The Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz, who visited the Catholic missions in Bagamoyo and Mandera in 1891, surely reflected the views of the missionaries when he commented on the overall aversion of the African population towards the German colonizers. He criticized them for exerting a more inflexible control than the British, for instance by obliging the colonized “races” to formally greet any “whites” as if they were “supreme beings”.⁷

As in many parts of East Africa the living conditions in Bagamoyo were difficult during the 1890s. The economic situation worsened not only as a result of destruction and famine but also because the ivory trade temporarily declined. After 1900 traffic and commerce clearly tended to concentrate on harbours suiting European ships such as Dar es Salaam, which had already replaced Bagamoyo as the capital of the colony in 1891.⁸ During that period

⁵ In particular those published by C. Velten, ‘Suaheli-Gedichte’, *MSOS*, 20 (1917), 64-92; see these and others in Gudrun Miehe, Katrin Bromber, Said Khamis & Ralf Großherode (eds.), *Kala Shairi: German East Africa in Swahili Poems*, Cologne, 2002, 101-204.

⁶ ‘Habari za Bushiri’ & ‘Mitteilungen über Buschiri’, in Gebhard Lademann, *Tierfabeln und andere Erzählungen in Suaheli*, Berlin, 1910, 1-2, 57-58.

⁷ H. Sienkiewicz, *Briefe aus Afrika*, translated from Polish by I. von Immendorf, Oldenburg, Leipzig, 1902, 184-186, cf. 236-237, 258-259. This book of the Nobel Prize laureate was not published in English. – Mandera is situated about 60 km northwest of Bagamoyo.

⁸ By 1897/98 more imports were unloaded in Dar es Salaam, and about ten years later Bagamoyo lost its leading position in exports. Cf. the customs and trade statistics in the

the resident population of the town fell from over 10000 to about 5000. While the German colonial authorities took measures against the slave trade without abolishing slavery as such, the proportion of slaves, which amounted to almost half of the population, decreased considerably after 1900.⁹ Sometime between 1892 and 1896 Mtoro Bakari acquired goods from a local Indian merchant on credit and organized a caravan intending to acquire livestock and rubber.¹⁰ It seems that this enterprise was not profitable and that it remained his only such venture. The fact that his account refers to various family members but not to his wife makes it likely that the journey took place before his marriage to Mamboni binti Amiri Majiru who gave birth to his daughter Mwanaidi around 1897/98.¹¹

By this time Mtoro Bakari must have adopted a somewhat neutral position concerning the colonial regime, or had at least begun to notice certain political changes. After the war of 1888/89 the focus of military activities increasingly shifted to mainland areas, and no major battles occurred in the Bagamoyo District. Even during the Maji Maji War (1905-1907) and the First World War (1914-1918) casualties and destruction were limited in this region. With the changing character of colonial domination – in this case the shift from military interventions to political compromises and investments in the colonial infrastructure – an increasing number of Africans took over administrative functions. Those who collaborated were not only attached to the regime by material interests but were also influenced by missionary and colonial efforts directed at social progress and economic development, to which they themselves partly contributed.

official annual reports starting with: *JEDS*, 1897/98, 234; cf. John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, Cambridge, 1979, 128-129.

⁹ Walter Brown suggested even lower figures on the basis of earlier estimates. According to colonial officials there were approximately between 16000 and 18000 inhabitants in the late 1890s, declining to some 5000 during the following two decades. W. Brown, 'Bagamoyo', 75; A. Leue, 'Bagamoyo', *BKK*, 2/1 (1900), 23; *JEDS*, 1897/98, 74; H. Schnee (ed.), *Deutsches Koloniallexikon*, vol.1, 113-114, 285-286. For the decline of slavery see Jan-Georg Deutsch, 'The 'Freeing' of Slaves in German East Africa: The Statistical Record, 1890-1914', *S&A*, 19/2 (1998), 109-132.

¹⁰ His account of the journey ('Safari yangu ya Udoe hatta Uzigua', 136; 'Meine Reise nach Udoe bis Uzigua', 149) mentions that a lion killed an Arab ferryman who was still alive in February 1892, cf. Albert Spring, *Selbsterlebtes in Ostafrika*, Dresden, Leipzig, 1896, 12. It also refers to a district officer whom Carl Velten identified as police sergeant Wallner. This man was evidently in Bagamoyo in 1893 and left the colony after being sick in March 1896, cf. the letters dated 3 January 1894 and 24 September 1893 (TNA G32/3); *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 1894, 224, 476; 1895, 6, 350, 428, 510, 646; 1896, 40, 96, 156, 216, 282, 408, 1896, 482, 580, 638, 704, 768; 1897, 40.

¹¹ His daughter was 6-7 years old in 1904, according to C. Velten to the Prussian Minister of Culture (*Minister der geistlichen, Unterrichts- und Medizinal-Angelegenheiten*), Berlin 16 June 1904 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 42-43).

No explicit reference to Mtoro Bakari seems to exist, in either published or archival sources, before he left Africa. Thus, it is not known when the German colonizers first employed him. One way of coming into contact with the new regime was the government school in Bagamoyo which was opened in October 1895 by a German teacher who gave lessons in writing Swahili in Latin script and introduced advanced students to the German language. The report on the colonial administration for the year 1899/1900 mentions that adult students had been employed as “teachers, akidas, jumbes, tax collectors and assistant postmen”.¹² The available evidence suggests that Mtoro Bakari did not attend such a school.¹³ When he left for Germany, the colonial administration actually began to employ Africans educated according to basic European standards and trained in writing Swahili in the Latin script, which was officially introduced in 1901.¹⁴

According to an autobiographical section of the *Desturi za Wasuabeli* Mtoro Bakari was employed by the District Office in Bagamoyo. It is likely that he performed less important duties before being chosen to become a tax collector. For his work in town, which he did not specify, he earned a salary. When collecting African hut taxes in the countryside he received an additional commission of five percent. It seems that he took up this work only temporarily after taxes were introduced on April 1st, 1898, because seven months later the District Commissioner, August Leue, reported that the Africans employed as tax collectors had proved to be rather unsuccessful, and that had they had asked for African mercenaries (*askari*) to assist them. Moreover, tax payers were liable to payments every four months according to the *Desturi*, a praxis which was changed after the first fiscal year.¹⁵ Usually two African soldiers accompanied Mtoro Bakari in order to enforce payments or arrest tax defaulters. On one occasion he went only with his slave Serenge, who defended him against the attack of a man who was unwilling to pay. In

¹² *JEDS*, 1895/96, 104; 1899/1900, 120. The Swahili words *jumbe* (pl. *majumbe*) and *akida* (pl. *maakida*), denoting political leaders and their subordinates in Swahili society, were adopted as titles for African representatives of the colonial regime in German East Africa.

¹³ He himself noted that he was educated at an “Arabian school”, see the incorrectly written note in his personal information sheet dated 21 March 1911 (StA HH 361-6, V 156). His name is not mentioned in files concerning government schools (TNA G9/54-55, G9/64-65).

¹⁴ The colonial administration only accepted documents written in Latin script from 1 January 1901 on, cf. the circular concerning the use of Arabic script dated 4 October 1899, in Kaiserliches Gouvernement von Deutsch-Ostafrika (ed.), *Die Landes-Gesetzgebung des Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Schutzgebietes*, Berlin, 1902, 81.

¹⁵ A. Leue mentioned the commission of 5% but not Mtoro Bakari, cf. his letter to the central government, Bagamoyo 4 October 1898, (TNA G3/46, 1a-d). According to the relevant decree, 5% was the maximum remuneration for African tax collectors, cf. ‘Einführung einer Häuser- und Hüttensteuer’, *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 11/3 (1 February 1898), 54-55.

the following, Mtoro Bakari explains how he viewed the widespread aversion to colonial taxation and mentioned that everybody hated him for what he was doing. In spite of these experiences, he argued in favour of the legitimacy of the hut tax and explicitly criticized deviant opinions:¹⁶

Every African house on the coast has a number written on it and the name of the householder. But it is customary for the Swahili to be difficult, and their behaviour is deceitful. When a government servant comes to inquire and write up the houses, they often do not tell him the truth, because some of them are afraid of having their names included in his file. They always ask: "What does it mean that the government records our houses and names?" Because many people do not understand what taxes are nor why government needs them. Many of them think that the government will consume the people's money, and some say: "Maybe the king has suggested registering the names of the people of the coast." Others say: "They are writing [out the names] because of taxes, but then perhaps they will want to come [again]." Everyone gives his opinion, and when the old women see the government clerk coming to record their houses, they run away, saying: "I want to live in peace. If they want my house, they may take it."

As in the case of spirit possession, Mtoro Bakari adopted a critical position regarding these prevalent views. He not only disqualified opposition against colonial taxation as the typical obstinacy of a certain people ("the Swahili") but also characterized related reactions as the result of ignorance and superstition, noticeably in the case of the "old women". The quotation as a whole creates the impression that the resistance against the hut tax was basically made up of idiosyncratic reactions. However, what Mtoro Bakari described may rather be understood as individual attitudes and strategies of evasion prevailing after the failure of a collective attempt at staging public protest. The District Commissioner August Leue reported that many people appealed against the levying of taxes and commented on his own success in talking down a rally apparently attended by the great majority of independent women living in Bagamoyo. He wrote: "Shortly after the beginning of tax collection, a crowd of about 2000 Swahili women appeared at the District Office early in the morning fervently asking me whether it is actually true that they must pay tax for their own houses. After being courteously welcomed and politely instructed, the women moved away completely calm and contented. The mass demonstration had come to nothing."¹⁷

Deriding the prevalent scepticism in regard to colonial taxation Mtoro Bakari came close to the condescending perspective of German officials. He obviously conceived of himself as an informed person, as someone who had attained a certain degree of intellectual and religious authority within the

¹⁶ The following two quotations originate from the sections 'Of tax gatherers on the coast' and 'Of taxation in the present' in C. Velten, *Desturi*, 230-235; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 278-283; J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 153-156.

¹⁷ A. Leue to the central government, Bagamoyo 4 October 1898 (TNA G3/46, 1a-d).

coastal society of East Africa. Being an adherent of a revealed religion and being recognized as a young intellectual, Mtoro Bakari tended to construe colonial rule as a kind of rational, religiously neutral state – reminding one of the political ideology of modern colonialism and of European philosophy from the enlightenment to the theories of Max Weber. This ideological affinity seems to have been an important reason for his positive attitude towards the colonial regime. He frankly expressed his viewpoint in another passage of the *Desturi za Wasuabeli*, beginning with the explanation of different tax rates:

Now the German government has made a custom of taxing houses and the establishment of shops by people such as Indians, Banyans, Arabs, or anyone else who starts a shop. Thus a Swahili rectangular house must pay twelve rupees a year, a house with a ridged roof but no gables six rupees, and a one-story stone house seven and a half rupees. A shopkeeper is assessed on the value of his shop. If it is big he pays a lot, and if it is small a little.

Many Swahili think that the government intends to eat up this money, but the government only uses it for the benefit of the townspeople, e.g. for the maintenance of towns and roads. In the old days there were only little paths running inland from the town, but now there are broad roads. And these improvements have cost money.

Secondly, people sleep in their houses at night under the protection of the police. While shopkeepers sleep the police go their rounds guarding the shops. The police need salaries, and salaries cost money, and the government pays.

Thirdly, if somebody is attacked and robbed or if his brother is killed, he takes his complaint to the government, and the government eagerly takes his side to obtain justice for him.

Fourthly, the wells on the coast: In the past the wells were very bad, but now the government has built fine, clean wells and paid for them out of the taxes.

Then it has built bridges over the small rivers everywhere, and over the big river it has established a ferry, and travellers can cross without danger. In the old days the canoe used to capsize, and the people or their goods would go to the bottom.

Then again, in the past people had no employment, but now the government has given them employment. And they do not serve the government for nothing, they are paid by the government.

That is why government levies taxes. Moreover, the money derived from these taxes is not enough for the government. The government in Europe sends a lot of money annually to the [Mrima] coast to supplement the local revenue, to organize the country and to help the people.

This is not the place to discuss subsidies, an important element of the European colonies in Africa, nor the financial characteristics of the colonial administration such as the high salaries of “white” officers, which must certainly be seen in a more critical light today. In the above-quoted statement Mtoro Bakari presented himself as a modernizer and formulated rational arguments in support of the foreign regime. From his point of view, which was based on his experiences in the Bagamoyo District during the 1890s, this was an acceptable form of government (*serikali*) because it offered substantial



2.4 A modern well in Bagamoyo around 1910

advantages for the majority of the people living in coastal towns. It is obvious that he wrote for a German readership or for Europeans intending to live or work in German East Africa. His explanations objectively served to improve the linguistic proficiency of colonial officers. The above-quoted statement is one of the few passages which also seem to aim at a Swahili-speaking audience, including those not regarded as “Swahili” in a cultural sense. In fact, Mtoro Bakari must have considered that only a limited number of people in East Africa would have access to the book, in particular those who were able to read Swahili in the Latin script which had been introduced by Christian missions and the colonial administration. After all, the publications to which he contributed offered opportunities of acquiring intellectual, cultural and linguistic competence mainly for a European readership – the prime concern of his superior and co-author Carl Velten. It must be remembered that a wider African audience, and with it early forms of proto-nationalism, emerged in Tanganyika only from the 1920s onwards.¹⁸

¹⁸ The African Association was founded in Dar es Salaam in 1929, and the earliest beginnings of African Association in Zanzibar only date back to the 1930s.

It was probably not so much the attractiveness of the modernization discourse but rather political circumstances and material considerations which originally motivated Mtoro Bakari to work for the colonial administration. When he was collecting taxes in 1898 a prolonged drought had begun which led to severe famine, wide-ranging starvation and epidemics for a period of at least two years. While economic and social conditions deteriorated everywhere, the measures of the colonial administration in Bagamoyo – namely work for food projects, the building of huts for male beggars outside the town centre and some food aid¹⁹ – not mentioned by Mtoro Bakari, probably had no significant effect with regard to both actual assistance and political legitimization. The option to become a teacher in Germany offered a way out of a difficult situation. The salary offered to him may have been about ten times as high as that in Bagamoyo, where Mtoro Bakari was paid according to the racial standard applying to Africans and, possibly, hardly earned much more than 15 rupees (c.20 marks) per months. Hence, he immediately made arrangements to transfer 85 marks to the “Indian Banda Remtallah”, conceivably the trader who had provided merchandise on credit for his caravan, and to make his wife a monthly payment of 15 marks (c.12 rupees).²⁰

Mtoro Bakari must have seen the job opportunity in Berlin as a great chance not only to improve his financial situation but also to continue his career and attain a respected position within German society, at least at the beginning. Evidently, he legitimized essential elements of colonial change in German East Africa and with it his function as a tax collector. The disapproval of the people, however, must have bothered him longer than he was ready to openly admit. When writing about his work as a tax collector in the *Desturi za Wasuaheli*, he seems to have made a Freudian slip, inappropriately mentioning his share of the tax money he raised outside the township of Bagamoyo, received in addition to his salary; here he used the word *rupia* redundantly.²¹ The translators tacitly corrected him: according to

¹⁹ Cf. the letter of Dr. Otto Gaertner, a staff-surgeon, to the central government, Bagamoyo 11 April 1899, and the synopsis of famine related expenditure in various districts between July 1898 and March 1900 (TNA G3/90, 4-5, 47).

²⁰ According to a letter of the District Office, Bagamoyo 22 May 1900 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.1, 160). Banda Remtallah must have been a member of the Indian Khoja community in Bagamoyo, possibly a relative of the merchant “Remtala Manak” in Gongoni where the central market was situated, cf. the entry “Hassam Remtala” in the annual report of the government school for 1898/99 (TNA G9/65, 97-98). A more correct spelling of his name may be “Bandari Rahimtulla”. It is remembered that a member of the Ismaelian community who bore this name lived in Bagamoyo until the 1960s (personal communication of Juma Msafiri Mabruk, Bagamoyo in October 2004).

²¹ As the modern Swahili word for percent, *asilimia*, did not exist at his time, Mtoro Bakari might have used the expression *kila mia rupia tano* (5 rupees out of 100), cf. C. Velten, *Suaheli-*

the German version he received one out of five rupees, according to the English version he received a fee of five *pesa* for every rupee (1 rupee = 64 *pesa*).²² Most likely, he actually referred to the maximum remuneration for tax collectors, i.e. five percent. Again, Mtoro Bakari chose *rupia* at the end of the next paragraph where the word *fedha* might have been more fitting. This apparent fixation on the coinage of which he had to exact one unit from each house every four months indicates that he was in fact haunted by unresolved contradictions when trying to express a rational and neat position as an author in a work which was to be published. It seems that negative experiences with the effectiveness of African tax collectors in 1898 caused the District Office to free him from his active involvement in the repressive tax policy of the colonial regime before he left for Germany.

Wörterbuch, II. *Deutsch-Suabeli*, Magliaso, etc., 1933, 570; cf. *mia kwa tano* or *tano kwa mia*, C. Velten, *Suabeli-Wörterbuch*, I. *Suabeli-Deutsch*, Leipzig, 1910, 257; *kwa kila mia moja*, Frederick Johnson, *A Standard English-Swabili Dictionary*, Oxford, 1939, 396.

²² C. Velten, *Desturi*, 234-235; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 283; J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 156, cf. 331.

3

At the School of Oriental Languages in Berlin

My student and friend called Velten came and told me: “Please, Sheikh Amour, let’s make friends and go out together”, and I replied: “Okay, sure”. So, we went around and he introduced me to German manners. [...]

In Berlin there are steel bridges, trees, ships, and very many dogs. Berlin is part of the mainland, not an island, and it is a nice place, not bad at all. During the cold season, however, the water becomes hard like stone, and the rain would fall like pebbles, and another kind of rain is like slices of coconut flesh.

The Swahili lecturer, Amour bin Nassor, in 1892

Being much smaller than London and approximating the size of New York and Paris at the end of the nineteenth century, Berlin, the German capital, was, for a time, the fourth largest metropolis in the world. With almost two million people living in the urban areas plus the same number in the wider surroundings, it was the most important city in Germany. The second one, Hamburg, grew even more rapidly, profiting from the increase in maritime trade and thus reaching a total population of 900 000 shortly after 1900. By that time, scientific and technological progress had begun to provide modern cities with such utilities as electricity, underground railways and modern sewage systems. Corresponding economic advancements, based on the development of capitalism, contributed to the rise of the German nation state, which had been founded in 1871, and facilitated its imperialist policies.

While Germany was catching up with other European powers, Berlin was the centre of the political and institutional developments which ensued. The idea of establishing a language school for diplomats and interpreters emerged only in 1883. Originally, the proposed institution was to concentrate on important Middle Eastern and Asian languages and, in contrast to the university, to combine theoretical teaching with practical instruction – in Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Japanese and Chinese. The enthusiasm about Germany’s new role as a colonizing power proved to be a fertile ground for the suggestion of a well-known colonialist, Carl Peters, to include Bantu languages into the syllabus. A few months later the *Seminar für orientalische Sprachen* (School of Oriental Languages, SOL), where Mtoro Bakari was later to be employed, started work, the first semester beginning in

October 1887; this included a grammar course and exercises in Swahili.¹ While the foundation of the SOL had not primarily been the result of deliberate state intervention directed towards extending imperial influence, the addition of African languages to the syllabus was clearly motivated by colonial aspirations that were increasingly finding favour in Germany at the time.

Attached to the University of Berlin during the fifty years of its existence, the main purpose of the SOL was to offer vocational training for German personnel serving in foreign countries. Over time, the school widened the range of courses by including geography, economics, law, and other subjects relating to non-European countries, increasingly focussing on the German colonies. This process ended at the beginning of the First World War, after which these colonies were transferred to other European powers and put under the protection of the League of Nations. The basic difference between teaching personnel was that between “teachers” (*Lehrer*), who were supposed to do theoretical teaching and research, and “lecturers” (*Lektoren*), who mainly worked as instructors and assistants. While this distinction characterized linguistic studies – with native speakers of non-European and European languages normally being employed as lecturers – there were also a growing number of associate teachers in other fields of education. Occasionally, teachers were endowed with the title “professor”.

Being the only institution of its kind in Germany for more than twenty years, its indirect contribution to the colonization process was noteworthy. This was especially true in regard to German East Africa where, besides German, Swahili came to be used as an official language. The policy of spreading this language, however, grew out of glaring contradictions, which have not yet been fully researched. Swahili was made an object of academic study at a time when the idea of African languages being “primitive” and simple must have become more general, along with the rising interest in the colonies. From the beginning, it was the main medium for the colonizers in communicating with Africans and for gaining control over the country as quickly as possible, since they had little alternatives but to use this language.² Over time, the colonial regime increasingly acknowledged Swahili as a means of communication, with the express intention, however, of excluding Africans from understanding German and thereby acquiring higher education. As a consequence, its implementation as an official language on the lower levels of administration was accompanied by the teaching of basic German to a limited

¹ Lothar Burchardt, ‘The School of Oriental Languages at the University of Berlin – Forging the Cadres of German Imperialism?’, in B. Stuchtey (ed.), *Science across the European Empires, 1800-1950*, Oxford, 2005; for Carl Peters see pages 68, 100.

² The latter is the main argument of Brumfit’s detailed study: Ann Brumfit, ‘The Rise and Development of a Language Policy in German East Africa’, *SUGLA*, 2, 219-331.

number of Africans trained to become employees of the colonial regime. In the final analysis, the German colonial administration substantially contributed to further spreading the coastal vernacular on the mainland, if in a somewhat simplified form.

While Swahili was taught at the SOL from the very beginning, other African languages spoken in the German colonies were to follow: Herero (1897), Hausa (1898), Douala and Ewe (1899), Ful (1903/04), Amharic (1905/06), Nama (1907/08), Twi (1908/09), as well as Ovambo and Yaunde (1909/10).³ Although interest in the “colonial” or “native languages” (*Kolonialsprachen*, *Eingeborenen Sprachen*) steadily rose, they did not have the same standing as the “civilized languages” (*Kultursprachen*) of Europe or the Asian languages that were included into this category. The very establishment of the former as an object of academic study, however, challenged this discriminatory distinction. While writings and established forms of research existed in the case of “civilized languages” it was important for the teachers of “colonial languages” to publish additional texts and develop new methods and theoretical approaches. In this context, collaboration with native speakers from various regions of Africa was essential, and thus also the employment of eligible persons, ready to teach and serve as informants at the SOL in Berlin. Mtoro Bakari was the third Swahili speaker who gave classes mainly to young German men looking for a position in the colonies, intending to stay in East Africa as officers of the administration or the postal services, or as soldiers, missionaries, merchants or farmers. Only a very small number of women attended African language courses at public institutions in Germany, in the case of Swahili, only one out of a total of about one thousand students who matriculated at the SOL before 1920.⁴ The great majority studied Swahili for just one or two semesters. Certainly, the African lecturers helped equip these people with a basic knowledge of the colonies from which they originated and thus increase their ability to exert closer control over the colonized.

Usually, the lecturers were recruited in German colonies and were thus subjects of the respective colonial regime. In contrast to France and Britain, African immigrants to Germany did not normally have the chance of acquiring German citizenship during the German colonial period (1884-1919). While this was partly due to the definition of German nationality,

³ For the history of study of African languages in Berlin see the thematic issue of: *Berliner Afrikanistische Arbeitsblätter*, Heft 1, written by Burkhard Forstreuther et al., ed. by the Africa Institute of the Humboldt University, Berlin 1993, 7; Holger Stoecker, ‘Das Seminar für orientalische Sprachen’, in U. van der Heyden & J. Zeller (eds.), *Kolonialmetropole Berlin*, Berlin, 2002, 115-122.

⁴ The official register of personnel and the students (AVPS) for the summer semester of 1914 lists the librarian Anna Meißner. After the following semester the Swahili language courses were discontinued because of the First World War.

which did not depend on one's place of birth (*jus soli*) but on one's parentage (*jus sanguinis*), but also – and perhaps more so – on the more restrictive practice regarding citizenship for Africans which emerged in the different German states after the turn of the century.⁵ As a consequence, German colonial subjects normally lacked any explicit right to live permanently in Germany. Their continued presence ultimately depended on the immigration authorities. Due to the status difference of “natives” and “whites” in the colonies Africans fell under the jurisdiction of “native law”, but because of the territorial principle they were subject to German law when staying in Germany.⁶ These conditions were not of critical importance during early colonial years, since colonial subjects were widely welcomed as representatives of their people and regarded as potential agents of the German colonial regimes. This period ended around 1900 as a consequence of the policy of racial segregation in the colonies which affected the situation of Africans in Germany.⁷ Thus, only a small number of “black” students, mainly African-Americans⁸, had the chance to matriculate at German universities before the First World War, while a limited number of German colonial subjects were able to obtain some higher professional training.

The fact that skin colour did not play the same role in the Germany of the 1890s as in the following period is illustrated by the fact that an American of mixed descent, William Du Bois, who later emerged as one of the most important initiators of the Pan-African movement, studied at the

⁵ An example for the less restrictive practice is the case of Mandenga Diek from Cameroon who acquired the citizenship of Hamburg and married a German woman in 1896, cf. Susanne Heyn, ‘Zwischen Einbürgerung und Abschiebung: Der Kampf ums Bleiberecht’, in H. Möhle, S. Heyn & S. Lewerenz (eds.), *Zwischen Völkerschau und Kolonialinstitut*, Hamburg, 2006, 22-27; see also Dominik Nagl, *Grenzfälle – Staatsangehörigkeit, Rassismus und nationale Identität unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft*, Frankfurt, 2007.

⁶ The dual legal system was based on § 4 and § 7 of the Protectorates’ Act (*Schutzgebietsgesetz*) of 17 April 1886, cf. Harald Sippel, “‘Im Interesse des Deutschtums und der weißen Rasse’: Behandlung und Rechtswirkungen von “Rassenmischehen” in den Kolonien Deutsch-Ostafrika und Deutsch-Südwestafrika’, *JaR*, 9 (1995), 131-143.

⁷ Between 1885 and 1945 there were 4 periods of “colonial migration” in Germany: the first ending around 1900, the second in 1918, the third with the last colonial exhibitions in the 1930s, and the fourth with the elimination or forced sterilization of a substantial part of the “coloured” people, cf. Pascal Grosse, ‘Koloniale Lebenswelten in Berlin 1885-1914’, in U. van der Heyden & J. Zeller (eds.), *Kolonialmetropole Berlin*, Berlin, 2002, 195-201.

⁸ Mary Church Terrell, who studied in Berlin in 1889/90, met a fellow African-American, Will Marion Cook, attending the College of Music, cf. Paulette Reed-Anderson, *Rewriting the footnotes: Berlin and the African Diaspora*, Berlin, extended edition, 2000, 30-33. In the winter semester of 1910/11 the African-American philosopher, Alain Locke, also studied in Berlin, actually as a reaction to an incident which showed that “white” Americans in Oxford tended to exclude him because of his “race”, cf. Christopher Buck, *Alain Locke: Faith and Philosophy*, Los Angeles, 2005, 15-19.

philosophical faculty of the university in Berlin from 1892 to 1894.⁹ In retrospect, he noted that “the theory of race separation” had been “quite in my blood” before “friendships and close contact with white folk” in Europe contributed to make his “own ideas waver” and “to emphasize the cultural aspects of race”. However, discussions with his professors and peers in Berlin, where “Africa was left without culture and without history”, prompted him, even more than in Harvard, to reflect critically on the wider social and historical implications of misleading theories on the inferiority of “lower races”, which were gaining ground in the academic world at that time.¹⁰ His admiration for German nationalism, emanating from a romantic reaction to modernity and the imagination of a common history of the Germans as a people (*Volk*), must have been stained when one of his teachers, the ultra-nationalistic or “fire-eating Pan-German” Heinrich von Treitschke, authoritatively stated: “Mulattoes are inferior [...] Their actions show it”. Naturally, the Africans who came to Germany as language instructors shared neither the social experiences nor the intellectual aspirations of an American student, and they encountered racial prejudice under different conditions and in different ways.

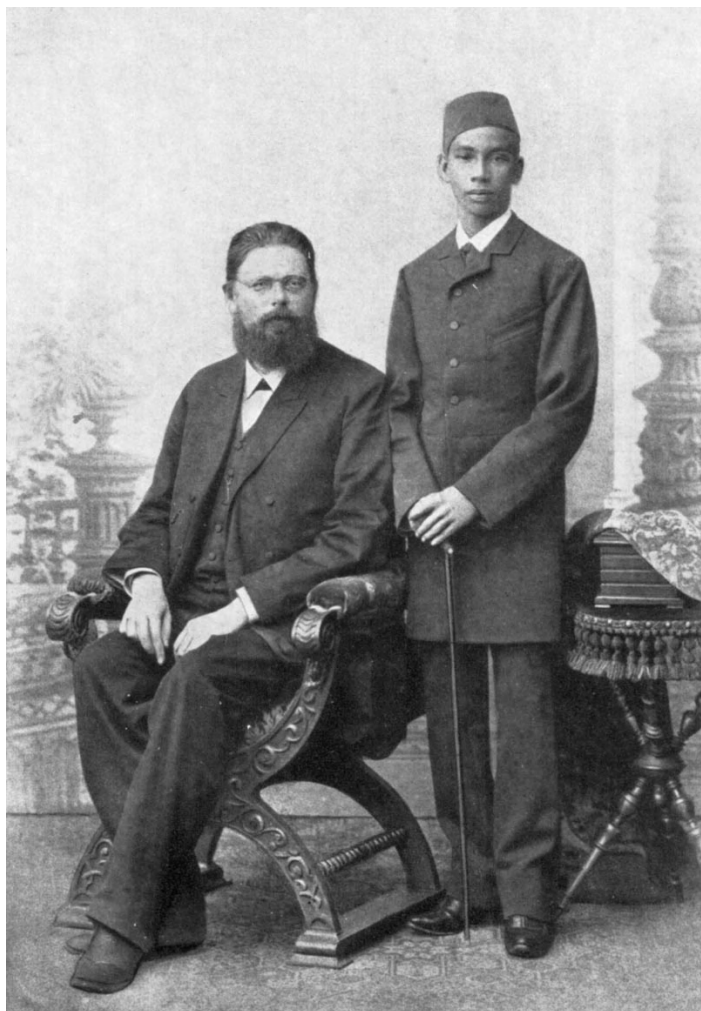
The first two Swahili lecturers at the SOL were selected as members of the upper class and apparently tended to consider themselves less “Swahili” than “Arab” – their fathers actually came from Oman and married their mothers in Africa.¹¹ It seems that Carl Reinhardt, the dragoman of the German consulate in Zanzibar who was looking for contacts with people coming from Muscat because of his linguistic research, had originally recommended them.¹² Having been born in Zanzibar and having visited Oman, both of them were British colonial subjects. The contracts they signed obliged them to work exclusively as lecturers for the SOL for three and four years respectively. On their way to Europe they were given second-class

⁹ After returning to the USA, William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963) continued his historical and sociological studies of African-Americans, and emerged as a leading intellectual in the struggle against racial discrimination, organizing the Pan-African congresses from 1919 onwards and taking part in the struggle against colonialism after the Second World War, cf. e.g. The W.E.B. Du Bois Learning Center (<http://www.duboislc.org/>, March 2008).

¹⁰ “Under these teachers and in this social setting, I began to see the race problem in America, the problem of the peoples of Africa and Asia, and the political development of Europe as one.” All quotations in this paragraph originate from *Dusk of Dawn* (1940), cf. W.E.B. Du Bois, Writings, New York, 1986, 588, 625-628.

¹¹ For indications for their fluid identity see Pugach, Sara, ‘Of conjunctions, comportment, and clothing: the place of African teaching assistants in Berlin and Hamburg, 1889-1919’, in H. Tilley & R.J. Gordon (eds.), *Ordering Africa*, Manchester, New York, 2007, 126-127, 136.

¹² He did not mention them in his book *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in Oman und Sansibar*, Stuttgart, 1894. – The following short account is based on the documents in GStA PK, I. HA Rep.76, Va. Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.A, Bd.3-6; personal files of Sleman bin Said, Amour bin Nassor and C.H. Büttner, GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.119, Nr.120, Nr.114.



3.1

C.G. Büttner and
Sulaiman bin Said

tickets, and were paid in accordance with the salaries of their colleagues.¹³ The first Swahili lecturer, Sulaiman bin Said bin Ahmed es-Sorami, came to Berlin in October 1889 and was estimated to be 20 years old when he died 15 months later. The local press noted his death and reported his burial ceremony at the Turkish Cemetery, where Muslims who died in Berlin used to be buried until the 1950s.¹⁴ His successor, Amour bin Nassor al-Omeri,

¹³ However, their monthly remunerations (214 marks plus irregular additions for Sulaiman, 250 and later 300 marks for Amour) ranged at the lower end of the salaries of foreign lecturers; the one who taught both Persian and Arabic earned the highest salary (400 marks) in 1892/3.

¹⁴ Cf. *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, 7 April 1891; *Vossische Zeitung*, 4 and 10 April 1891; *Kreuzzeitung*, 6 April 1891; *Nationalzeitung*, 8 April 1891. His tombstone could be seen on this cemetery

was about 22 years old and had already married twice before he arrived in Berlin in September 1891.¹⁵ In addition to their Swahili courses, both of them used to offer “practical exercises in modern Arabic with special regard to the dialect of Zanzibar”.¹⁶ It seems that neither of these lecturers became much accustomed to his social environment in Germany. While Amour bin Nassor was away, his mother, his brother and an uncle died. In June 1895 he applied for a six months leave, as was granted to German officials working overseas after two years of service, in order to look after the inherited property, which included land and slaves. As his German colleagues were not content with his teaching, his contract was not extended, and he returned to Zanzibar, later becoming the *linwali* (headman) of Bagamoyo.

Both these Swahili lecturers contributed texts to the publications of Prof. Carl Gotthilf Büttner, who had worked as a missionary in southwestern Africa before he became the first “teacher” for Swahili at the SOL in 1887. Although he never visited East Africa, he had been a leading figure of the Evangelical Mission for German East Africa since its foundation in 1886, and was thus one of those missionaries who strongly supported the establishment of German colonial rule.¹⁷ Through his publications he explicitly intended to promote the linguistic and cultural competence of colonial officers and, at the same time, to contribute to the uplifting of the colonial subjects by paving the way for spreading Christianity and European civilization. Fundamental deficiencies of his approach are typical for the thinking of his German successors. He believed to have presented texts “written down by the natives without European influence”, though some of them were produced on his behalf or implicitly influenced by an inter-cultural and even colonial context. The publication of these texts was meant to further German understanding of “how to tackle the natives in order to gain influence over their religious

until recently.

¹⁵ The birth date he gave himself (Friday, 13 Dah'l-Hijja 1285) actually fell on a Saturday (27 March 1869). He also said he was born during the reign of Sultan Majid of Zanzibar (1856-1870). Amur bin Nasur ilOmeiri, ‘Khabari ya Amur bin Nasur’, in C.G. Büttner, *Anthologie aus der Suaheli-Litteratur*, Berlin, 1894, part 1, 150; ‘Leben des Herrn Amur bin Nasur’, part 2, 160.

¹⁶ Sulaiman bin Said in the summer semester of 1890, and Amour bin Nassor from the summer semester of 1892 to the summer semester of 1895, cf. the program of the SOL (Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen und Übungen [...] im Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin). Amour’s courses also appeared in the program of the winter semester of 1895/96, although he was only employed until August 1895, according to the letter of recommendation written by the director of the SOL, Eduard Sachau, Berlin 23 August 1895 (in possession of his son, Habib Amour Nassor al-Amer, Mataya (Bagamoyo District) in October 2004).

¹⁷ For the political activities of C.G. Büttner (1848-1893) see Gustav Menzel, *C.G. Büttner: Missionar, Sprachforscher und Politiker in der deutschen Kolonialbewegung*, Wuppertal, 2nd edition, 1995, 119-195; cf. Thorsten Altena, ‘Ein Hänflein Christen mitten in der Heidenwelt des dunklen Erdteils’: Zum Selbst- und Fremdverständnis protestantischer Missionare im kolonialen Afrika 1884-1918, Münster, 2003, appendix: 17-18.

thinking". He also hoped to provide "a deep insight into the hearts of our blacks" and to prove that they were "human beings like us".¹⁸ In rather contradictory ways, he thus challenged prevailing Eurocentric views, showing that written literature already existed before the advent of missionaries in Africa, thereby promoting the academic study of African languages beyond its narrow colonial relevance.

Having been asked to write about various topics, the Swahili lecturers addressed a readership that included Germans learning Swahili in intellectual atmosphere of Berlin. On dealing with the "customs of the people of Zanzibar", Sulaiman bin Said tries to explain Swahili politeness (e.g. greetings) as the groundwork of linguistic competence and points out its educational dimension. Amour bin Nassor recounts his life story, describes his journey and his experiences in Berlin, and gave an account of Zanzibar. He not only reveals that he was motivated to come to Berlin by certain rewards, but, with some irony, relates his puzzlement about the sites and spectacles his German language teacher, Hans Zache, and his student, Carl Velten, had shown him with the apparent intention of underscoring the greatness of the German nation.¹⁹ Contemporary German readers were fascinated and amused by the criticism implied in the "naïve" perspective that a foreigner had cast on their own society.²⁰ A few years after this text was published, a Swahili writer in German East Africa, who chose to remain anonymous, criticized the foreigners' acquisition of knowledge more directly, pointing out its hegemonic effects which made the colonized appear ignorant. His poem was actually a reaction to a circular of 1895 concerning the collection of linguistic information which was published at the instigation of Carl Velten.²¹

Travelling via Dar es Salaam and Marseille, Mtoro Bakari arrived in Berlin in June 1900, about one month before the beginning of the summer vacation at the SOL. Though it is not known who recommended Mtoro Bakari, there can be little doubt that his knowledge of Arabic was a crucial criterion for selecting him, as it was in the case of his predecessors. In fact, contemporary

¹⁸ Cf. the preface in C.G. Büttner, *Anthologie*, part 1. C.G. Büttner mentioned who gave the manuscripts to him but did not identify the authors, except for the main contributions of the two Swahili lecturers in Berlin.

¹⁹ Sleman bin Said, 'Mazehebi ya watu wa Unguja', in C.G. Büttner, *Anthologie*, Berlin, 1894, part 1, 131-145; 'Sitten der Sansibarleute', in part 2, 139-156. The lecturers may have provided more texts for this book. There are also unidentified contributions of Sulaiman bin Said in C.G. Büttner, *Suabeli-Schriftstücke in arabischer Schrift mit lateinischer Schrift umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt*, Stuttgart, 1890; and one published by a student of Sulaiman bin Said: Friedrich von Nettelbladt, 'Maschairs im Kiswahili', *ZaS*, 3/4 (1890), 291-292 (no.12).

²⁰ Cf. Zache's review of Büttner's *Anthologie*, in *ZfaoS*, 1/4 (1895), 376.

²¹ Anonymous, in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie*, 367-370; see the English translation in G. Mische at al. (eds.), *Kala Shairi*, 372-374. Four out of twenty-two stanzas are quoted at the beginning of the Postscript on page 118.

European notions of the “Swahili” implied a double cultural competence. An early researcher of the Swahili language, the Anglican missionary Edward Steere, pointed out that “as a Swahili is by definition a man of mixed Negro and Arab descent, he has an equal right to tell tales of Arab and Negro origin”.²² Evidently, Mtoro Bakari was generally perceived as belonging to this first generation of Swahili lecturers, as indicated by the reminiscences of two of his students: Paul Graetz designated him a “Zanzibar Negro who tried to teach us the labial sounds of the Bantu tribes”, and Wilhelm Methner mistook him for Amour bin Nassor, whom he probably came to know when working in Dar es Salaam.²³ Growing up in a specific section of the East African littoral, however, Mtoro Bakari tended to represent the “African” side of the locally diverse Swahili society and culture.

In contrast to his predecessors, he came from a German colony and was subject to the dualistic jurisdiction that existed in the colonies, but not in Germany. However, with this status he was a more likely victim of discrimination. In fact, his history reveals a growing tendency to lower the overall status of African employees. Like Amour bin Nassor he agreed to work exclusively at the SOL for a period of four years, but he was earning 100 marks less per month. Beginning with 200 marks he was placed at the lower end of the salary scale of foreign lecturers. The salary rise of 50 marks that he received after three years was anticipated in the work contract on condition that “the director be satisfied with his conduct”.²⁴ Thus, he earned about twice the amount of the basic wage in Berlin at that time, which in the case of the German college servant at the SOL amounted to 90 marks.²⁵

Mtoro Bakari worked under the direction of the teacher, Carl Velten. After studying modern European languages and gaining a considerable knowledge of Arabic in North Africa, Velten had prepared himself at the

²² E. Steere, *Swahili Tales, as Told by Natives of Zanzibar*, London, 1889, vi (preface of the first edition, 1869).

²³ P. Graetz, *Buntes Erleben in drei Erdteilen: Erinnerungen eines alten Afrikaners*, Berlin, 1938, 15; W. Methner, *Unter drei Gouverneuren: 16 Jahre Dienst in deutschen Tropen*, Breslau, 1938, 9. – P. Graetz matriculated for Swahili at the SOL in the winter semester of 1900/01 and W. Methner in the summer semester of 1901 (cf. AVPS).

²⁴ Until the time of Mtoro Bakari's employment, the SOL translated the German work contracts for Swahili lecturers (cf. GStA PK, I. HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 28-29; GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.1, 161-162; Bd.2, 57-58). In 1903 the Chinese lecturer received the highest salary; in 1905 the Abyssinian lecturer earned 4000 marks annually (cf. GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.2, 59-60; Bd.4, 144).

²⁵ The “assistant servant” (*Hilfsdiener*) August Giese was married and had worked for the SOL for 17 years in 1904, according to E. Sachau to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 1 November 1904 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.5, 129). The official register of the school's personnel (AVPS) lists A. Giese from the summer semester of 1902 up to the winter semester of 1919/20.

SOL in Berlin for the colonial service and worked as a dragoman (translation officer) and registrar in German East Africa. In 1896 he was appointed as a “teacher” (*Lehrer*) for African languages at the SOL, where in 1904 the title “professor” was bestowed on him.²⁶ Since Mtoro Bakari only started to give courses four months after his arrival, it is possible that Carl Velten began to teach him German during that time and to use him as an informant. The relationship must have been very intense since they cooperated closely in teaching Swahili at the SOL and lived in the same flat for almost one and a half years.²⁷

During this time Carl Velten finished editing the manuscript of the *Safari za Wasuabeli*, a collection of seven travel accounts written by four different authors, and published both the Swahili and German version in 1901. In the prefaces he introduced the German reader to the Swahili authors and commended Mtoro Bakari as the best writer. Depicting some elements of Doe and Zaramo history and culture, his two texts must be viewed as precursors of the *Desturi*. It seems that he wrote the first one in 1900, the second one in 1901²⁸ and worked on the *Desturi za Wasuabeli* between 1901 and 1903. According to the prefaces of the Swahili and German versions of the *Desturi*, Carl Velten discussed the texts, which other East African authors had written for him, with Mtoro Bakari, who then contributed new information. Mtoro Bakari obviously finished the manuscripts in Arabic script and Carl Velten transliterated these texts using English orthography.²⁹

²⁶ Carl Velten (1862-1942) died on 1 April 1942. He lived in London at that time but was buried in Oxford. The memorial of Carl Velten, his wife Alice and his son Eric can still be found at the Rose Hill Cemetery (grave location B1-242). I thank Jan Georg Deutsch for visiting the memorial and communicating this information, which is not contained in Velten’s personal file (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.116-117).

²⁷ According to the official registers of personnel and students (AVPS), both Carl Velten and Mtoro Bakari lived in SW12 Markgrafenstraße 78 in the winter semester of 1900/01, the former moving to NW23 Brücken-Allee 35 before the summer semester of 1902 and the latter to SW12 Zimmerstraße 9 before the winter semester of 1902/03. Mtoro Bakari moved again, first to SW 47 Kreuzbergstraße 21 before the summer semester of 1904 and to Kaiser-Friedrichstraße 34 (Charlottenburg) before the winter semester of 1904/05.

²⁸ The text mentions the famine in Bagamoyo that apparently culminated in 1899 as having occurred “two years ago”. Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari, ‘Habari ya inchi ya Wazaramu dasturi za Wazaramu’, in C. Velten, *Safari za Wasuabeli*, Göttingen, 1901, 238; ‘Mitteilungen über das Land Uzaramu nebst Sitten und Gebräuchen der Wazaramu’, in C. Velten, *Schilderungen der Suabeli von Expeditionen v. Wißmann, Dr. Bumillers, Graf v. Götzens, und Anderer*, Göttingen, 1901, 261.

²⁹ It seems that the original manuscripts no longer exist (personal communication of Katrin Bromber who compiled a list of Swahili manuscripts preserved in Berlin and Leipzig, which were not recorded in the relevant book of Ernst Dammann (*Afrikanische Handschriften*, Teil 1: Handschriften in Swahili und anderen Sprachen Afrikas, Stuttgart, 1993), and telephone communication with two grandchildren of Carl Velten, Tim Carl Velten in Sussex and Alice Carnwath in London).



3.2 Carl Velten in German East Africa between 1893 and 1896

Working at the SOL, Mtoro Bakari earned the respect of his superiors for both his excellent teaching qualities and his linguistic competence. In March 1900 Gustav Neuhaus, who had given elementary Swahili courses, left the school because he was not promoted to “teacher”.³⁰ After the arrival of the new lecturer the Swahili classes were divided differently, with Carl Velten teaching an elementary and an advanced class of Swahili grammar. Mtoro Bakari offered “practical exercises” for these two courses, which amounted to one and a half hours twice a day from Monday to Friday. He also conducted one hour of “writing exercises” twice a week. Many of the students attended these courses for only one semester with the intention of acquiring a basic knowledge that would enable them to attain adequate language proficiency in the places where they were going to work. This intense training was strictly divided between theory and practice and naturally had its strengths and weaknesses, as reflected in a letter of a student who compared Velten’s

³⁰ G. Neuhaus to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 5 July 1899 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va. Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.1, 182), cf. his personal file (GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 208A, Nr.115, 85ff.); cf. Katrin Bromber, ‘Gustav Neuhaus: mwalimu wa Kiswahili, mhariri na mtumishi wa serikali ya kikoloni’, *AAP*, 60 (1999), 175-177.

pedagogical qualities with those of the teacher for English, where such a division did not exist. Eduard Klautzsch wrote about Velten's class:³¹

The grammatical structure of the Swahili language has been made in large strides. For eight days we have read parts of Velten's book *Safari zu Wasuabeli*, and during the last weeks of the semester he intends to use some official documents and practise conversation. So far, I did not see him use any pedagogical method; each one has to understand most things on his own. He loves to lecture and give translations rather than memorizing and explaining. One can profit a lot from the so-called practical exercises of the lecturer, Mtoro bin Muenyi Bakari, in which the other gentlemen tend not to engross the young lecturer for their own, usually superficial, interests.

After doing linguistic fieldwork in East Africa, Carl Meinhof began to work as "teacher for African languages" at the SOL in 1903. During the time he earned his fame as a linguist. The main reason to study "primitive languages" was, for him, because "they must be penetrated by European knowledge, filled with the spirit of Europe and become the vehicle of European thought, so that our energy and intelligence can duly co-operate in the raising and opening up of distant worlds".³² His aim was to "Christianize" African languages, i.e. change them in order to reflect Christian ideas and limit the number of Arabic loan words.³³ Beginning in the summer semester of 1903, Carl Meinhof regularly gave an elementary Swahili course for missionaries, in which he taught the basics of the grammar and used Steere's and Büttner's books as well as parts of the Swahili version of the New Testament, in order to prepare them for the work they would undertake in East Africa within a few months. Frequently, the students did not have to matriculate for these courses, which were occasionally attended by the brides of missionaries as well as by female teachers and nurses, including Elisabeth Seesemann and Clara Wegner who were among Meinhof's best Swahili students.³⁴ In addition to Meinhof's course, Mtoro Bakari offered one hour of "practical exercises" four times a week from the winter semester of 1903/04 onwards. Thus, the courses published in the syllabus under the name of "Herr Mtoro bin Muenyi Bakari" amounted to a total of 21 hours per week.

³¹ E. Klautzsch to Johannes Bau, Berlin 20 February 1902, cf. his personal file (UHB MD 858, n.p.).

³² Cf. the collection of lectures given by C. Meinhof (1867-1944) in 1910, *An Introduction to the Study of African Languages*, London, etc., 1915, 21; for his more concrete considerations see lectures VI and VII on pages 103-139.

³³ Cf. Sara Pugach, "'Christianize' and Conquer: Carl Meinhof, German Evangelical Missionaries, and the Debate over African Languages, 1905-1910', in U. van der Heyden & J. Becher (eds.), *Mission und Gewalt*, Stuttgart, 2000, 509-524.

³⁴ They studied in the summer semesters of 1905 and 1906 respectively, cf. their personal files (AFSt LMW II.32.537 and II.32.550), and Th. Altena, *Ein Häuflein Christen ...*, appendix: 341, 350.

Apart from this, he may occasionally have been present in the classes of his superiors, namely that of Carl Meinhof, which took place immediately before his “practical exercises” until the beginning of November 1904.³⁵

According to the division between the courses of European and African teachers, and since the Latin script was increasingly used for writing Swahili, Mtoro Bakari would teach pronunciation, do conversation, tell stories, ask the students to write them down and translate them, or explain something about the life of the Swahili. That he also used these methods when he had to replace Carl Meinhof for two weeks in November 1904, shows that he did not teach the theoretical course. However, one of his students, Ernst Pagels, clearly appreciated that he had introduced them to “the style and the structure” of the language.³⁶ That his activities were not confined to his duties at the SOL is proved by documents of the Berlin Phonogram Archives for which he recorded a number of songs and rhythms in 1902 and 1910. There is no evidence that these have ever been analysed. It may now be impossible to refurbish the wax cylinders used by the ethnomusicologist, Erich von Hornbostel, to record the voice of Mtoro Bakari.³⁷

Having contributed to Velten’s publications – of which the *Safari* and the *Desturi* seem to be the most important – Mtoro Bakari assisted Carl Meinhof who was advancing his groundbreaking research in the field of comparative linguistics at the time. In his lectures of 1910, Carl Meinhof challenged the widespread opinion that the structure of “primitive languages” tends to be simple. For him, European languages had reached a higher level of abstraction but, at the same time, had lost much of their complexity due to

³⁵ Cf. the courses of Mtoro Bakari as published in the official organ of the colonial administration: *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 12/5 (1.3.1901), 160; 12/15 (1.8.1901), 565; 13/15 (1.8.1902), 353; 14/5 (1.3.1903), 112; 14/15 (1.8.1903), 400; 15/17 (15.8.1904), 545-546; 16/4 (1.2.1904), 125; see also his entry in the annual directories of the personnel of the SOL (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Bd. 5-6; BArch R1001/6194-6196). In December 1904 Meinhof (1857-1944) had begun to hold his Swahili course on different days, cf. C. Meinhof to E. Sachau, Berlin 24.10.1904 and 4.12.1904 (GStA PK, I. HA Rep.208A, Nr.25, 61 and 63).

³⁶ E. Pagels to Paul Otto Hennig, Rixdorf 1 December 1904 (UHB MD 943: personal file of E. Pagels, n.p.); cf. Elisabeth Seesemann to the mission director, Berlin 5 and 23 July 1905 (AFSt LMW II.32.537: personal file of E. Seesemann, n.p.); Rasmus Sörensen to P.O. Hennig, Hamburg 3 July 1911 (UHB MD 1051: personal file of R. Sörensen, n.p.).

³⁷ They are preserved in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, cf. Rainer E. Lotz, Andreas Masel & Susanne Ziegler, *Discographie der ethnischen Aufnahmen* (Deutsche National-Discographie, Serie 5, Bd.1), Bonn, 2004, 231. So far, no research has been done on the Swahili recordings of the Berlin Phonogram Archives, cf. the list of Hornbostels’ publications in Stephan Klotz (ed.), *Vom tönenden Wirbel menschlichen Tuns: Erich M. von Hornbostel als Gestaltpsychologe, Archivar und Musikwissenschaftler*, Berlin, 1998, 217-220. – Erich Moritz von Hornbostel (1877-1935), whose mother was a Jew, was sacked from all his posts in 1933 and later worked as a professor in the USA and Cambridge/UK.

rapid speech and to the more intense contact of different languages in urban areas, a tendency that he also observed in the “coast and trade language” Swahili.³⁸ Moreover, he emphasized that, while experiencing no difficulty in obtaining new linguistic material for some years past, it had been not easy for him to find collaborators “equal to the task of helping me to gather in and work up the exceedingly rich resources”.³⁹ In this situation, Mtoro Bakari was a very important collaborator, whom he, however, never saw as anything more than an assistant. In 1904 Carl Meinhof recognized his exceptional talents and made clear that it was to him – or, more precisely, “to his higher intelligence and linguistic education” – that he owed the discovery of an etymologically relevant distinction of two phonemes.⁴⁰ In his letter of recommendation he again mentioned this contribution and characterized their relationship in the following way:⁴¹

The Swahili lecturer Mtoro always worked to my full satisfaction. With unceasing patience he articulates the phonemes for his students. He is never short of linguistic material and understands how to organize it properly. He adopted my suggestions with great deftness and drew on them in his own ways.

Because of his education, which is quite excellent for an African, he not only knows his native language thoroughly but is also familiar with its dialects, and in particular with its poetic forms. Due to his acquaintance with Arabic he is able to identify corresponding foreign borrowings in Swahili. Because of his good pronunciation, his teaching faculties and his personal modesty he was never simply a neutral collaborator, and he most willingly provided any pertinent and linguistic information beyond his actual duties.

Unsurprisingly, Mtoro Bakari’s contract was extended for another two years in April 1904.⁴² Thereafter, Carl Meinhof continued to take advantage of his abilities. In the second edition of his seminal work *Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages* he changed the Swahili phonemes according to Mtoro Bakari’s explanations, this time without mentioning his name.⁴³

³⁸ C. Meinhof, *An Introduction*, 18, 59, cf. 82-83. According to his theory, the tendency to omit the *u*, as well as the *l* after an accented syllable, was the result of rapid speech in Swahili.

³⁹ C. Meinhof, *Die moderne Sprachforschung in Afrika. Hamburgische Vorträge*, Berlin, 1910, 18; cf. C. Meinhof, *An Introduction*, 12.

⁴⁰ C. Meinhof, ‘Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika. I. Suaheli’, *MSOS*, 7 (1904), 202-216, see in particular pages 206-207, where he also mentions an “intelligent Shambaa boy”.

⁴¹ C. Meinhof, Berlin 26 May 1905 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.4, 46).

⁴² The contract of 25 April 1904 ended on 24 May 1906 (cf. GStA PK, I. HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 39).

⁴³ The first two editions were published in German (under the title *Grundrisse einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*), cf. the 1st edition (1899), 53, 58-59, 225, and the 2nd edition (1910), 87-88, 93-94, 332. The 3rd edition appeared in English in 1932, revised and enlarged with the author and Dr. Alice Werner by N.J. van Warmelo, Berlin, cf. 111-112, 117, 241.

4

Marriage in 1904

Earlier on, he put in much effort, worked really well and his behaviour was modest. This ended in autumn last year. Complaints have already come from East Africa, similar to the case of his predecessor who lived with a waitress as his concubine. Obviously, the Negro in love is, in his dullness, not able to do any other kind of work.

Carl Velten in May 1905, expressing his frustration about Mtoro Bakari who had broken with him

Recognition of Mtoro Bakari's talents and achievements did not help him much when he seriously pursued a relationship with a German woman. It seems that, at the beginning of May 1904, Mtoro Bakari and Bertha Hilske were betrothed by Adolf Schmidt, a Protestant pastor living not far from the home of the Bakaris at that time. Four months later Mtoro Bakari contacted the Colonial Department of the German Foreign Office in order to obtain the papers that were necessary to conclude a civil marriage. After the Governor of German East Africa forwarded a letter of the Bagamoyo District Office stating that there were no known facts preventing Mtoro Bakari from marrying, the civil marriage took place on October 29th, 1904, in Berlin-Charlottenburg, where the Bakaris had moved during the summer.¹

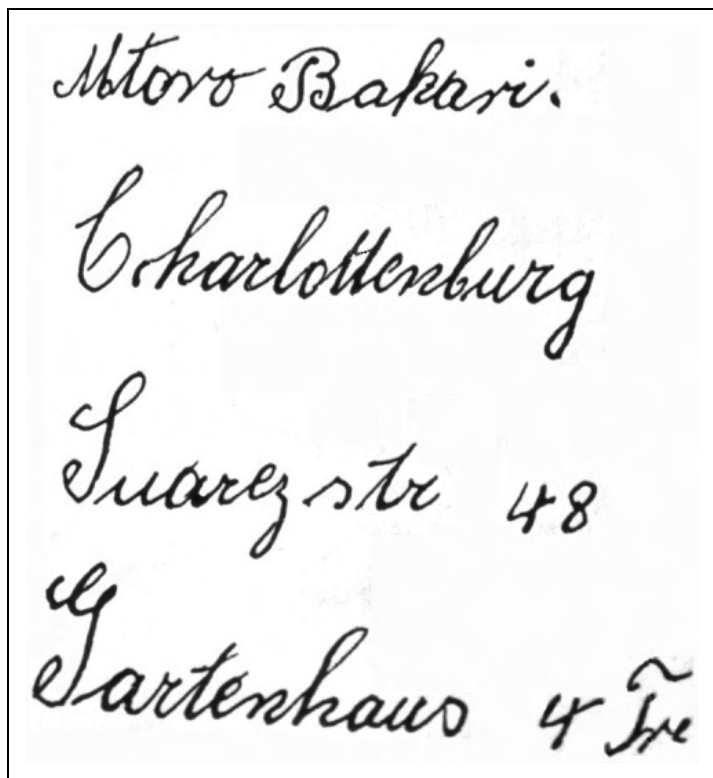
Bertha's last name, a German derivation of "Hilski", indicates that she originally came from a Polish family. In fact, she was born in eastern Germany in 1876, in a town (Berlinchen) that today is situated in the northwestern part of Poland.² That she went to Berlin, probably in search of employment, was nothing unusual, the more so since there were a great number of immigrants from Russia and Eastern Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. Bertha Hilske lived together with family members,

¹ This is the date of the civil marriage. It seems that, at the beginning of May 1904, they were betrothed by "Pastor Schmidt" in Berlin, Hagelbergerstraße 31. Carl Velten believed that they had actually married in church, but this was only possible after concluding a civil marriage, cf. C. Velten to the Prussian Minister of Culture, 16 June 1904 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 42-43). Apart from his address, little information seems to exist about Adolf Schmidt, cf. the Berlin directory (Berliner Adressbuch 1904, 1654; 1905, 1849).

² Berlinchen (Polish: Barlinek) is situated some 140km northeast of Berlin. It was part of the Soldin district in the Neumark region. The date and place of birth of Bertha Hilske are recorded in the historical registration file of Mtoro Bakari in the state archives in Berlin.

4.1

Mtoro Bakari's
signature from
his letter of
21 December 1906



Mtoro Bakari.
Charlottenburg
Lützowstr 48
Gartenhaus 4 Tre

possibly her parents, and presumably contributed to the family income by seeking ordinary employment.³ On the other hand, Mtoro Bakari earned a good salary but used to live as a sub-tenant, finally staying as a lodger with the Hilske family. This was a common practice for single persons at that time, not only for those who were unsure of whether they would live permanently in a certain place. It appears that Mtoro Bakari fully accepted the possibility of living in Germany when he decided to marry a second time.

After being informed that his wife in Bagamoyo was unfaithful, he had given her, according to Islamic law, a twofold divorce in December 1903, on condition that she would forgo the rest of the bridal gift due from him.⁴

³

³ An article that comments negatively on her union with an African identifies her as a “factory worker” and her husband as an “assistant teacher”. ‘Die Rassenfrage in unseren Kolonien’, *Deutsche Warte*, 19 November 1905.

⁴ See the German translation of the letter of divorce dated 14 December 1903. The original, which may no longer exist, was sent back to Carl Velten by Amour bin Nassor, the former lecturer and headman of Bagamoyo, in order to be used for teaching purposes, according to C. Velten to the Prussian Minister of Culture, 16 June 1904 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 42-43).

Instead of urging Mtoro Bakari to make sure that all the legal requirements were met before being betrothed to another woman, Carl Velten was categorically opposed to his marriage to Bertha Hilske. In his opinion, the colonial administration – if not an Islamic judge – would definitely have protected the first marriage, since in similar cases it prohibited African men from marrying a second time immediately after their divorce. Since, for Velten, an African from a German colony was subject to colonial law, he viewed the intended marriage as a case of bigamy. Moreover, he reported that Mtoro Bakari had, for one and a half years, been betrothed to a third woman, who complained that he had deserted her.⁵ Velten's negative comment on rumours that Amour bin Nassor had been living together with a German woman clearly shows that his crucial motive was the idea that an officially sanctioned relationship between an African man and a European woman stood in contrast to the racial order that formed the basis of colonial society.⁶

Faced with Carl Velten's disapproval Mtoro Bakari ignored the teaching instructions that Velten used to give him and no longer assisted him. The personal collection of the last governor of German East Africa, Heinrich Schnee, contains papers of Carl Velten, among them letters that show that he continued to correspond with informants in East Africa and with some of the Swahili lecturers after they had left Germany, but not with Mtoro Bakari.⁷ For his part, Carl Velten never publicly mentioned his contributions again, though he certainly included some of Mtoro Bakari's texts in the collection of Swahili prose and poems (*Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*) which he published in 1907.⁸ Two manuscripts in Schnee's collection indicate that, around this time, Carl Velten asked some of the Swahili tutors in Berlin, namely Suedi bin Farjallah and Mwakinyo bin Makanyaga, to write about different aspects of Swahili "customs and manners".⁹ Evidently, he included poems composed by the

⁵ In his letter of 16 June 1904 (cf. the preceding note) Velten pointed out that the divorce should not be permitted. An analogous judgement of the district court in Tanga carries the note "Ehescheidungsangel. Mtoro betr." (i.e. divorce affair concerning Mtoro), cf. the undated transcript (GStA PK, VI.HA, Nachlass Heinrich Schnee, Nr.70).

⁶ Addition to Velten's letter to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 25 May 1905 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 53).

⁷ In particular, see the incoming Swahili letters in GStA PK, VI.HA, collection of Heinrich Schnee, Nr.65 (1894-1933).

⁸ Apart from the account mentioned in footnote 20 on page 18, Carl Velten used the conversation of an African tax collector with a tardy tax-payer, which closely matches the experiences described in the *Desturi*. Anonymous, 'Habari ya mtoza kodi. Erlebnisse eines Steuererhebers', in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie*, 154-155; cf. C. Velten, *Desturi*, 234; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 282-283. There is also a manuscript of a poem on locusts designated as "shairi la nzige Mtoro", which was apparently not authored but possibly copied by Mtoro Bakari (GStA PK, VI.HA, collection of Heinrich Schnee, Nr.70). C. Velten published a poem bearing the same title without mentioning the author (*Prosa und Poesie*, 403-405).

⁹ See the note 'New desturi of Mwakinyo' on the first page of the manuscript *Asili ya uzuri*

tutors Muhammadi bin Akida and Mwinjuma bin Laamiri in a language guide for officers of the postal and telegraphic services, when a special examination was introduced for them in 1910.¹⁰ When his collaboration with Mtoro Bakari came to an end, Carl Velten began to adjust his studies of Swahili language and culture more and more to the “practical needs” of the German colonial regime in East Africa. In 1904 he published his *Practical Swahili Grammar*. In the second edition of 1905 he adopted the orthography of the Swahili textbooks used in East Africa, thus amending a “small mistake”, namely the more sophisticated transcription of Arabic words which he had used in the first edition “in regard to the original pronunciation of Arabic words and the Arabic script which are popular among the Swahili”.¹¹

Like Carl Velten, the director of the SOL, Professor Eduard Sachau, tried to convince Mtoro Bakari to change his mind about the marriage by using the argument of bigamy. For him, the different religious denominations of the couple were also a crucial problem. When Bertha Hilske and her mother saw him in order to protest against the negative position of Carl Velten, he refused to take any action.¹² Instead, he put off the salary rise of 50 marks beginning in June 1904 which had been granted because of the additional conversation course Mtoro Bakari held on behalf of Carl Meinhof, and because “Mr. Mtoro always serves willingly and diligently and his work is acknowledged by everybody”.¹³ An indication of the racist motivation behind Sachau’s reaction is the fact that he did not object to employing the Moroccan Abd el-Wahhab Bu-Bekr, who came to Berlin together with his German (Christian) wife and their children, as lecturer for Arabic in March 1904.¹⁴ When the news of the marriage reached his students, Mtoro Bakari faced constant vilification at the SOL, mainly in the courses he gave on behalf of Carl Velten. His superiors did nothing to protect him. Under these

wa karatsi kutia masikioni, and the note ‘By Suedi Desturi ya kuchincha mbuzi msinjini’ on the eighth page (GStA PK, VI.HA, Nr.70).

¹⁰ In the Swahili guide for post officers he also mentioned that Mwinyi Shomari bin Mwinyi Kambi from Konduchi had assisted him. C. Velten, *Suabeli-Sprachführer für Postbeamte*, Berlin, 1910, IV.

¹¹ C. Velten, *Praktische Suabeli-Grammatik nebst einem Deutsch-Suabeli Wörterverzeichnis*, Berlin, 2nd edition, 1905, V.

¹² E. Sachau (1845-1930) responding to a letter of the director of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, Berlin 28 October 1905 (BArch R1001/5422, 11; GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 70).

¹³ Cf. the letters of E. Sachau to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 15 April and 13 June 1904 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va. Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124 Adhib.A, Bd.12, 16-18 (quotation); GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 42).

¹⁴ Prof. Sachau even supported a salary rise for Abd el-Wahhab Bu-Bekr when the couple had got five children, cf. E. Sachau to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 30 June 1906 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va. Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.4, 186; see also 187, 216-218, 238; Bd.5, 287-290; etc.).

circumstances he turned to the director, Eduard Sachau, who agreed to terminate his contract at the end of May 1905.

The marriage of the Bakaris seems not to have attracted any comment in the writings of his students. However, it may have motivated one of them, Wilhelm Pfläging who matriculated for Swahili in the summer semester of 1904 and the winter semester of 1904/05, to later produce a doctoral dissertation on juridical problems related to marriages between Germans and “natives”.¹⁵ After all, the insults uttered against him marked the beginning of a more general complicity in avoiding any public mentioning of his name. While Mtoro Bakari’s own feelings about the various forms of discrimination he faced are not documented, there can be little doubt that claims of racial superiority had no reasonable basis in his eyes. In his letter, quoted below, he insists on his status as a subject of the German Reich, a status based on the principles of German law. In so doing, he implicitly distanced himself from the social reality in East Africa, where slaves and dependents were not free to choose a partner, and where Islamic authorities would allow Muslim men to marry non-Muslim wives with the expectation that the children become Muslims, although proscribing inter-religious marriage the other way around. Lastly, it is plausible that the attempt to prevent African men from choosing European wives was even more unacceptable to him, since it was an open secret that many German men had non-legalized relationships with African women in the colonies.

Ironically, although such marriages were never proscribed in Germany, the Bakaris were confronted with the hostile position of the colonial administration after they left Germany for German East Africa. They apparently travelled through Genua (Italy), taking a second-class cabin on a German postal steamer which left on 21 August 1905 and took 21 days to reach Tanga.¹⁶ On the following day, on 12 September 1905, they arrived in Dar es Salaam. The Governor, Gustav Adolf Graf von Götzen, who had studied Swahili when Mtoro Bakari first gave courses at the SOL, seems to have avoided to actually meeting them. Reportedly, he had received instructions from the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office to use his own discretion in dealing with them.¹⁷ Before the steamer landed, he had

¹⁵ W. Pfläging, *Zum kolonialrechtlichen Problem der Mischbeziehungen zwischen deutschen Reichsangehörigen und Eingeborenen der deutschen Schutzgebiete, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Unterhaltsanspruches der unehelichen Mischlinge*, Berlin, 1913.

¹⁶ It was reported that the Bakaris left Germany or Berlin on 5 or 7 August 1905 (cf. BAArch R1001/5422, 42, 24) and reached Dar es Salaam on 12 September, according to Hermann Wilder, ‘Auch etwas zur Eingeborenenpolitik’, *UP*, 4/45 (15 September 1905), supplement. In the published timetables, these dates only fit to the above-mentioned steamer. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 16/15 (1 August 1905), 490.

¹⁷ He matriculated in the winter semester of 1900/01 (AVPS). For this affair see also Lora Wildenthal, *German Women for Empire, 1884-1945*, Durham, etc., 2001, 111-118.

issued an order preventing Bertha Bakari from entering the colony, thus forcing the couple to return to Berlin on the same ship exactly one week later. As a reaction to her huge disappointment, if not despair, the District Office assured Mrs. Bakari that her husband would be given a job in Berlin and that their tickets and the shipping of their furniture would be refunded. After some discussions the Colonial Department in Berlin, wishing to avoid any publicity, covered these expenses later on.

In his memoirs of the Maji Maji War, Graf von Götzen presented the relationship of Bertha and Mtoro Bakari as blatant proof of the “dullness of racial sentiments” among Germans. His reaction was influenced by the beginning of the war that threatened the colonial regime. This paralleled the colonial war in German Southwest Africa (Namibia), which had stimulated the measures taken against “mixed marriage” in 1904. The racial hatred Graf von Götzen expressed in his diary of 13 September 1905 must partly be explained by his endeavours to forget the fact that he himself had forwarded the letter of the Bagamoyo District Office needed to bring about the marriage of the Bakaris one year earlier.¹⁸

Our laws have endorsed the civil marriage of a woman from Berlin and an East African Negro, who had learned to speak German and, therefore, was employed as a so-called lecturer for three years, serving the trainees of the School of Oriental Languages as an experimental object during their language studies. This docile and orderly, but due to the legislation, completely misguided Negro arrived today with the intention of spending his life from now on with his wife in a Negro dwelling.

I do not know whether the spread of plague from Zanzibar to Dar es Salaam, or the undermining of the repute of the white race, which would inevitably follow the appearance of a mixed black and white couple in the streets of Dar es Salaam, would have worsened our situation the more, at a time when, almost daily, the belief in our superiority is already contested. Be that as it may, the situation caused me to have the woman from Berlin prevented from landing. Facing her tears the District Office tried to convince her that a Negro with German language skills and fairly good manners, as her Mtoro was able to reveal, would always find a more worthwhile employment and attain a higher repute than in Africa.

This “instance” compelled the German public to confront an open secret directly: the existence of legal unions between Europeans and colonial subjects. Sure enough, the few immediate reactions to the journey of the Bakaris were cynical and humiliating. The German press in the colony depicted the wedlock between a “black” man and a “white” woman as a scandal, accompanied by a plethora of chauvinistic remarks, intending to mobilize racist sentiments beyond the advocates of colonialism. Only three days after their arrival, Hermann Wilder published such an article in the *Usambara-Post*, a weekly that was published in Tanga and mainly represented

¹⁸ G.A. Graf von Götzen, *Deutsch-Ostafrika im Aufstand 1905/06*, Berlin, 1909, 100-101.

the interests of German immigrants. In a similar way, the story was presented and commented on by newspapers in Germany, where the majority of the population, however, was far from accepting the racial constraints on colonial subjects called for by the advocates of German colonialism. While it is not known whether the Bakaris had access to such insulting articles during their return journey, they certainly experienced negative reactions in many other ways. After arriving in Berlin at the end of October 1905 they may have, for instance, noticed the report of a daily paper about the situation in Mississippi, where marriages between members of different “races” were illegal and where a “white” woman was sentenced to ten years’ imprisonment for marrying a man who was the son of a “mixed” couple. This article also referred to a practice well-known in southern parts of the USA up to the 1930s, namely the lynching of “black” men, an action often justified by their supposed inclination to sexually harass or assault “white” women. In reality only few lynching victims were convicted of, or indicted for such crimes.¹⁹

The marriage laid open basic contradictions of his position. While working as a lecturer in Germany he lived almost like a full German citizen, but would have reverted to an inferior subject on returning to the colony. In the light of this jurisdictional inconsistency, he might have thought that this difference would be overcome over time and that his resistance might contribute to the process. In reality, however, racism, along with nationalism and chauvinism, was on the rise in Germany after 1900. His own “instance” attained limited press coverage but triggered discussions among metropolitan and colonial administrators. Eventually, a broader public discourse led to administrative measures against marriages between Europeans and Africans in the colonies. As a consequence, legalized unions were dissolved and their offspring were not acknowledged as their rightful children and heirs. This change was most evident in German Southwest Africa with its relatively early immigration of European missionaries and settlers.²⁰ In the German colonies

¹⁹ Hermann Wilder, ‘Auch etwas zur Eingeborenenpolitik’. See also the article in *Tägliche Rundschau* (Berlin) with reference to Bertha Bakari, reprinted in *UP*, 5/2 (18 November 1905), and the article relating the case of the Bakaris to the situation in USA in *Deutsche Warte* (Berlin), 19 November 1905.

²⁰ In the 1890s colonial discourse tended to affirm their status, cf. the “system Leutwein” as analysed by Helmut Bley, *Namibia under German Rule*, Hamburg, Windhoek, 1996. For the legal and practical changes see e.g. Lora Wildenthal, ‘Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire’, in F. Cooper & A.L. Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire*, Berkeley, 1997, 263-283; Helmut Walser Smith, ‘The Talk of Genocide, the Rhetoric of Miscegenation: Notes on Debates in the German Reichstag Concerning Southwest Africa, 1904-14’, in S. Friedrichsmeyer, S. Lennox & S. Zantop (eds.), *The Imperialist Imagination*, Ann Arbor, 1998, 107-123; H. Sippel, ‘Rechtspolitische Ansätze zur Vermeidung einer Mischlingsbevölkerung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika’, in F. Becker (ed.), *Rassenmischehen – Mischlinge – Rassentrennung*, Stuttgart, 2004, 138-164.

in New Guinea and other Pacific islands, where relations between European men and local women were widely accepted, a decree prohibiting marriages in 1912 did not significantly change this social reality.²¹ In German East Africa there were only a few related cases. When informed that Werner Thiel, a German merchant in Tanga working for the Bethel Mission, intended to marry a “native” woman, Graf von Götzen, in March 1906, sent a letter to the judges of Tanga and Dar es Salaam, who were responsible for the juridical administration of northern and southern part of the colony respectively, as well as to various District Commissioners instructing them to prevent “mixed marriages”.²² The German press in the colony reacted to this policy by arguing that, ethically, such unions can never be above reproach because the offspring would inherit the negative traits of an “inferior race” and the European husband would adapt to the lower social level of his wife.²³

The clear position of the colonial administrators in Werner Thiel’s case had emerged after the confrontation with a “black” man and his “white” wife who arrived in order to live in German East Africa. Indeed, for many years the marriage of Bertha and Mtoro Bakari was, explicitly or not, a point of reference in the arguments against marriages between Africans and Europeans.²⁴ It must have influenced the policy of the other German colonies, as well as the situation of Africans living in Germany, to a much greater extent than existing sources show. The most evident of these far-reaching consequences commenced when the director of the Colonial Department asked to review the employment conditions of “black” lectures at the SOL.²⁵ From 1905 onwards they no longer enjoyed the status of German civil servants (*Beamte*).²⁶ Having been downgraded to “teaching

²¹ The Secretary of State in the Imperial Colonial Office issued a corresponding decree for Samoa on 17 Januar 1912, which was also applied in other parts of the colony, cf. Hermann Joseph Hiery, *Das Deutsche Reich in der Südsee (1900-1921): Eine Annäherung an die Erfahrung verschiedener Kulturen*, Göttingen, Zürich, 1995, 40-48.

²² H. Sippel, “Im Interesse des Deutschtums Rasse”, 123-124, 127-128; cf. H. Sippel, ‘Mtoro bin Bakari – Ein Afrikaner wider Willen in Berlin’, in U. van der Heyden & J. Zeller (eds.), *Kolonialmetropole Berlin*, Berlin, 2002, 211-215. A personal file of W. Thiel (1868-1929) does not exist, cf. VEM, M; Th. Altena, “*Ein Häuflein Christen ...*”, appendix: 242, 199.

²³ ‘Energisches Eingreifen des Gouvernements gegen die Racenvermischung’, *DoaZ*, 8/12 (24 March 1906), title page.

²⁴ For example in the case of a German-Cameroonian marriage in 1916 (BArch R1001/4457/6, 119 and 122, cf. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst, *Treu bis in den Tod: Von Deutsch-Ostafrika nach Sachsenhausen – Eine Lebensgeschichte*, Berlin, 2007, 119).

²⁵ Dr. Oskar Wilhelm Stuebel to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 5 May 1905 (GStA PK, IHA Rep.208A, Nr.221, 40).

²⁶ Notably, Mtoro Bakari successful appealed against the demand for payment of the communal income-tax by arguing that he must be exempted on the basis of the fiscal law applicable to state employees, cf. the inquiry of 22 July 1901 and the draft response of the Prussian Minister of Culture dated 1 October 1901 (GStA PK, IHA Rep.76, Va. Sek.2 Tit.X,

assistants" (*Lehrgehilfen*), it was possible to dismiss them without notice if they did not comply with the instructions of their superiors. It was also decided to employ them for a period not exceeding two years and to provide lodging and food for them in reliable German families. A substantial part of their salary was paid directly to the family head, 30 marks given to them in the form of monthly "pocket-money", and they also received allowances for clothes. The rest was awarded as "subsequent compensation" amounting to 400 marks per year, which was to be paid out after they had returned to the colony. The "teaching assistants" were also to be given 90 marks and a third-class ticket for their return trip. However, in case of the event of their causing any trouble, their employees were entitled to withdraw all of these "gratifications".²⁷

The Governor, Graf von Götzen, who had a hand in choosing the new Swahili tutors, informed the Foreign Office that he had cancelled their booking and was going to send them two weeks later with another ship so that they would not travel together with the Bakaris who intended to leave on 19 September 1905. He supported the idea of keeping the tutors in Berlin for 18 months only, and of finding a host for them in order to control their free time. Moreover, he suggested that students at the SOL should be told *not* to address the African tutors formally with "Herr" (Mister, Sir) and "Sie" (instead, they should use the informal "Du"), because doing so "reveals a lack of understanding for the necessary difference to be made between Europeans and Africans and causes the well-bred Swahili to change his modesty and reserve for impudence and arrogance".²⁸

The two tutors chosen to replace Mtoro Bakari were male Muslims who grew up on the East African coast, but apparently within a less favourable social context than their three predecessors. According to Graf von Götzen, both of them came from Bagamoyo: Tabu bin Uledi had worked as an "assistant copyist" at the District Office for nine months, while Suedi bin Farjallah had attended the government school. Their age was estimated at about 18 years, but they may have actually been somewhat older than they appeared in colonial eyes. Nevertheless, they were about ten years younger than Mtoro Bakari at the time they began to teach in Berlin.²⁹ While they were

Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.2, 52-53). From 1905 on the work contracts were subject to civil law, cf. Fürstenau to Brugger, 26 November 1909 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.6, 132).

²⁷ These new the principles for employing African "teaching assistants" (*Lehrgehilfen*) came into force in 1905 (see GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 64-65); cf. the contracts of Tabu bin Uledi and Suedi bin Farjallah dated 14 November 1905 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124 Adhib.N, Bd.4, 107-111).

²⁸ Graf von Götzen informing the Foreign Office about the new tutors, Dar es Salaam 19 September 1905 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.4, 87-88).

²⁹ GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.4, 87-88, 110-111, 129. –

employed for only 18 months (1905-1907) the following “teaching assistants” were exchanged every two years after the winter semester. All of them signed the revised contracts and lived together as lodgers in the families of German teachers. With one exception, they were selected from the Tanga District. Saleh bin Omar, who worked as a secretary of the colonial government, Mwakinyo bin Makanyaga, known as the “boy” of the director of the local government school (1907-1909), Muhammadi bin Akida, a 30-years old “assistant teacher” in Kilwa, and Mwinjuma bin Laamiri, a secretary of the *akida* (headman) in Mnyuzi near Tanga (1909-1911).³⁰

Presumably, the last four had been either teachers or students at the government school before they came to Berlin. Kidege bin Kashifa (1911-1914) agreed to stay one year longer than Mwinyihija bin Zuberi (1911-1913) so as to make it easier for the following candidates to get accustomed to their work with the assistance of a more experienced fellow countryman.³¹ The First World War prevented Mdachi bin Sharifu (1913-1919) and Halidi bin Kirama (1914-1919) from leaving Germany until 1920.³² Despite the fact that it was difficult to find any fitting occupation for them when the number of students sharply declined and the Swahili courses ended after the winter semester of 1914/15, their contracts were extended every six months. Considered to be sufficiently trained to be employed as copyists or typists in a government office in East Africa, they worked part-time for the Imperial Colonial Office from October 1916 onwards.³³

As a general tendency, the Swahili tutors acquired an increasingly good command of German, although this did not become an essential selection criterion. The first two, and presumably Mtoro Bakari as well, learned German after arriving in Berlin with the help of colleagues and students. Tabu bin Uledi certainly spoke the language since he was asked to join an expedition of Duke Adolf Friedrich of Mecklenburg as servant or interpreter

Suedi bin Farjallah was married and transferred 6.67 marks per month to his wife.

³⁰ GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.121, 104, 112, 113-117, 142, 161, 164-165; GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va. Sek.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.4, 289, 301, 307-310; Bd.5, 153-154; Bd.6, 138 and 28.

³¹ GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.122, 70-71, 77, 110, 117-118, 171-172, 176. Kidege bin Kashifa was quickly selected instead of Athmani bin Abdallah who was disqualified after coming into conflict with a German teacher. Wilhelm Methner to the Secretary of State in the Imperial Colonial Office, Dar es Salaam 3 March 1911 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.122, 66).

³² Cf. the relevant documents in GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.122-124; GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va. Sek.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.8-9. When Mdachi bin Sharifu was selected instead of another government school teacher in 1913, it was hoped that the education of the “youth” will be sufficient. Wilhelm Methner to the Secretary of State in the Imperial Colonial Office, Dar es Salaam 24 February 1913 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.122, 127).

³³ E. Sachau to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 12 May 1916 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.123, 76).

in May 1907, shortly after he returned from Berlin. Mwakinyo bin Makanyaga must have been fluent in German before leaving East Africa since he had served as interpreter for some members of parliament in December 1906.³⁴ It is not clear whether Mdachi bin Sharifu was among the “assistant teachers” commended for their German language proficiency in 1903, since Mdachi, meaning “the German”, was a popular name at this time.³⁵ Like the other Swahili tutors, he attended the regular lessons given by the school’s secretary, Wilhelm Hildebrandt, from 1909 to 1916.³⁶ None of the above-mentioned tutors who followed Mtoro Bakari seems to have published anything in German. However, most of them, if not all, took up the chance of contributing articles to *Kiongozi*, a Swahili newspaper published by the government school in Tanga, which was designed to strengthen loyalty towards Germany and the German colonial administration mainly among Swahili speakers who were employed by, or had contact with, Europeans in East Africa.³⁷

Their young age and dependent social status, as well as the restrictions on their residence in Germany, made it easier to impose limits on the “teaching assistants” and to put them in a subaltern position. After the end of the First World War informants and tutors were recruited among Swahili speakers in Germany, as for instance Muhammed bin Juma who assisted Martin Heepe in editing a manuscript in 1926. The ultimate consequence of the new recruiting policy of 1905 was that Mtoro Bakari had been able to do a more efficient teaching job and to make more substantial contributions to the research of his German superiors than any of the other Swahili speakers employed at the SOL. This situation held until the 1930s and beyond.³⁸ Under the Nazi regime (1933-1945) African immigrants would only survive when their presence did not contradict official racist policy. Mahjub bin Adam Mohamed (Bayume bin Mohamed Husen), who had a German wife and children, worked as a film actor and taught Swahili at the SOL in the 1930s. Shortly after leaving this job

³⁴ Cf. the local news of Tanga in *Kiongozi*, 2/20 (January 1907) and 3/26 (July 1907). “Taabu” who joint duke “Adolf Friedrich” in May 1907 is probably identical to Tabu bin Uledi who evidently took part in his expedition of 1910/11, cf. the letter which “Tabu Uledi” sent from Cameroon, dated 1 February 1911, in *Kiongozi*, 7/74 (Juli 1911).

³⁵ See the petition concerning rewards for related achievements of assistant teachers (‘Athmani, Mdachi, Mwabondo, etc.’) and students, Tanga 12 October 1903 (TNA G9/64). At the government school in Tanga there must have been at least six teachers bearing the name Mdachi, cf. “mwalimu Mdachi 6”, *Kiongozi*, 2/17 (October 1906).

³⁶ GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.122, 4, 9-10, 33, 39, 43-44, 60, 78, 84-85, 89, 96, 100-101, 107-108, 112, 125, 141-142, 148, 151, 169, 179; Nr.123, 16, 22, 26, 43-44, 50, 55, 63, 75-76.

³⁷ Unfortunately, I did not have access to a complete collection of this periodical which was produced between 1904 and 1916 (monthly from the second issue of July 1905 onwards).

³⁸ For corresponding policies see e.g. Helmuth Stoecker (ed.), *German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings until the Second World War*, Berlin, 1986.

in 1941, because of the fact that his superior, Martin Heepe, treated him like an inferior, he was denounced for having an extra-marital relationship with a German woman and then imprisoned because of his skin colour. He died in a German concentration camp in 1944.³⁹

³⁹ Katrin Bromber, 'Verdienste von Lehrern und Lektoren des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin im Schaffen und Bewahren von Swahili-Wortkunst', in F. Veit-Wild (ed.), *Nicht nur Mythen und Märchen*, Trier, 2003, 50-52; M. Bechhaus-Gerst, *Treu bis in den Tod*, 51-52, 121-125 139-140, 150-151. – Mahjub's grave stone still exists in a cemetery in Berlin. He is the first African victim of the Nazi terror commemorated by a small plate (Stolperstein) placed close to his last place of residence in Berlin.

5

Teaching German missionaries

And they say: "None shall enter Paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian." Those are their own desires. Say: "Produce your proof if you are truthful."

Nay, whoever submits his whole self to Allah (i.e. to one God) and is a doer of good, will get his reward with his Lord; on such shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve.

The Quran, 2:111-112

It was no longer possible for Mtoro Bakari to resume work as a lecturer at the SOL. In January 1906 he sent a letter to the German Kaiser in which he pointed out that the measures taken against him and his wife lacked any legal basis and, regarding their dire financial situation, asked for another position in the civil service, either in Germany or in East Africa.¹ After receiving a negative response from the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, he wrote another letter to the director of the Colonial Department in December 1906 explaining the background of his current situation. It appears that he found a competent German who wrote this petition for him in the deferential tone necessary for addressing high-ranking public officials at the time.² Nevertheless, this "obedient report on the plight of the sender caused by executive bodies of the German government with an appeal for assistance" substantiates his views. In English it may be rendered like this:

I very respectfully ask Your Excellency to take note of the following account and to save me from an undeserved predicament.

I, Mtoro Bakari, born in Dunda near Bagamoyo (East Africa) was employed as a lecturer at the School of Oriental Languages and was teaching there until 1904 without hindrance. In 1904 I intended to marry a German girl. The privy councillor in the Foreign Office, Mr. Vortisch, obtained the necessary documents from Africa, and I contracted the marriage with Bertha Hilske at the registry office on October 29th, 1904.

¹ Mtoro Bakari to His Majesty, Berlin-Charlottenburg 8 January 1906, cf. the draft of the response dated 20 February 1906 (BArch R1001/5422, 24-25, 26).

² Letter dated 21 December 1906 (BArch R1001/5422, 36-38). The different handwritings and the formally correct German indicate that the letters of Mtoro Bakari, or at least the final versions thereof, were not written by him, including his letter of 8 January 1906. It seems, however, that the letter of 21 December 1906 was physically signed by him for the signature resembles the one in his letter of May 1922 (quoted on page 104-105).

Following this, the students in the class of Professor Velten continually raised difficulties. The insolence of the students increased to a point at which regular teaching was no longer possible. So in summer, I had to ask the director to either allow me to return to my native land half a year before my contract ended or to protect me against the insolence of my students.

Thence, I obtained permission to travel, and the government covered the travel expenses [...]. When I arrived in Tanga, the District Commissioner came on board and told me that I was not allowed to go ashore. The same thing took place in Dar es Salaam. The German District Commissioner came on board and told me I was not allowed to live in the country, and if I went ashore I would receive 25 strokes. When my wife asked him what was going to happen then, he said that the government would pay our return journey and I would be employed again at the School of Oriental Languages. [...]

After returning at the end of October 1905, I immediately approached Privy Councillor Sachau at the school, but his secretary told me that it is not possible to see him and that he could not help me anyway. I was to go back to my wife and look for employment on my own. He kept silent when I told him that, as a foreigner, I was not able to do this. He said that it was my own fault for getting into in such a situation.

So, because I concluded a marriage according to German law, and because branches of the German government sent me away from my native land, I have been deprived of any income here in Germany.

I still trust in Your Excellency's sense of justice and believe that Your Honour will not leave me without support. So far, some friends have made it possible for me to earn something here and there. But the private lessons that they found for me have ended now, and I neither have any means nor a job.

Therefore, I beseech Your Excellency to be as kind as either to relocate me and my wife to my native lands and let me live there, or to provide employment here so that I can earn a decent living. In whichever case, I beg Your Excellency to support me right away because I do not know how to carry on. [...]

It was logical for Mtoro Bakari to turn to the German Foreign Office for assistance in enforcing existing law, since there was no official prohibition of "mixed marriages", neither in Germany nor in German East Africa. However, despite the discrimination by civil servants and colonial officers and their dire economic consequences, the letter quoted above is extremely sober in reporting his experiences and does not directly target the responsible authorities. It is interesting that it blames the students for forcing Mtoro Bakari to give up his position at the SOL instead of pointing to his superiors who could have taken effective steps to terminate their "insolence". It describes the reaction of the secretary when he returned to the SOL but does not criticize the director for his refusal to meet him.

On the one hand, such restraint can be construed both as the submissiveness of the person who actually wrote the text and as a strategy aiming at encouraging benevolence on the part of the addressee. But on the other hand, the letter substantiates the way in which Mtoro Bakari continued to adapt to the political and social context in Germany under increasingly difficult conditions. There is nothing to indicate that his negative experiences led him to adopt a more critical stance. It appears that he basically viewed

them as a grave individual injustice, caused by the contradictory actions of people working in government institutions. Could he have viewed them in any other way? In Berlin it would have been difficult for him to find a forum in which to confront the responsible authorities and to develop an explicit criticism of racial discrimination, which was an essential characteristic of the German colonial regimes especially in Africa.

Under pressure to find new sources of income, Mtoro Bakari did not completely break with the institutions that supported the colonial regime. Over a certain period he visited the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office or the Imperial Colonial Office (*Reichskolonialamt*, established as an independent division in May 1907) on every working day. When the official in charge was absent he patiently waited for him at the entrance.³ In order to avoid public attention attempts were made to find him a job in summer 1907. The idea of employing him as a valet was put to one side because, in such a position, he might have had access to private rooms and documents. Furthermore, it did not seem feasible to put him in some practical training under the trusteeship of a master-craftsman as was done with some of the Africans who were presented in Berlin during the colonial exhibition of 1896. Like many of the commercial shows and exotic spectacles of the time this exhibition served to consolidate the idea of the primitiveness of non-European peoples.⁴

With no easy solution at hand, the Imperial Colonial Office collected information about the situation of Mtoro Bakari. After a police spy had interviewed his wife in June 1907, it was reported that after the Bakaris returned from East Africa, he had found a few private language students who paid 2-3 marks per hour, and also that they paid a monthly rent of 37.50 marks for a small apartment. Furthermore, Mtoro Bakari may have earned a monthly salary of about 100 marks for teaching a member of the German Oriental Mission or the Berlin Mission, possibly Martin Wilde, who was the mission inspector of the former missionary society before he worked for the latter in the same position from February 1907 onwards. A little later it was

³ He did so for several weeks according to Oskar Hintrager, *Südwestafrika in der deutschen Zeit*, München, 2nd edition, 1956, 74.

⁴ Notes of 4 June and 27 August 1907 (BArch R1001/5422, 39, 45). There were also Swahili at the colonial exhibition, cf. the official report: Graf von Schweinitz, C. von Beck & D. Imberg (eds.), *Deutschland und seine Kolonien im Jahre 1896: Amtlicher Bericht über die erste deutsche Kolonial-Ausstellung*, Berlin, 1897. After this exhibition Christian missions and others spoke out against further recruitment of "living objects"; and in most German colonies, including German East Africa, statutes were passed against such recruitment in 1901 but were not closely observed, cf. H. Sippel, 'Rassismus, Protektionismus oder Humanität? Die gesetzlichen Verbote der Anwerbung von 'Eingeborenen' zu Schaustellungszwecken in den deutschen Kolonien', in R. Debusmann & J. Ries (eds.), *Kolonialausstellungen – Begegnungen mit Afrika?* Frankfurt/Main, 1995, 43-64.

reported that Mtoro Bakari had received 18 marks for one month of private Swahili lessons given to a “bookkeeper” of the Berlin Mission intending to go to Dar es Salaam.⁵ In fact, this person can be identified as Diedrich Buck, who was told by Carl Meinhof that it would suffice to pay Mtoro Bakari 1.50 marks per hour because his difficult situation would probably force him to accept any sum.⁶ In November 1907 the Imperial Colonial Office suggested to him he might work as a courier for the publisher Ernst Vohsen⁷ for 18 marks a week. He went to Vohsen’s office for an interview but, though he stated that he only earned 6 marks a week at the mission, he did not contact him again.⁸

While he did not receive any assistance from the colonial administration after returning to Berlin, Mtoro Bakari found occupations that he himself viewed as more appropriate. He was said to have informed the Imperial Colonial Office that he was ready to stay in Germany if given a job in accordance with his education and offered the chance of teaching some private lessons to students of Carl Meinhof.⁹ In fact, Meinhof’s support was very important, as it even made it possible for Mtoro Bakari to continue his “practical exercises” for missionary students until the end of July 1905, two

⁵ Letters written on behalf of the Secretary of State in the Imperial Colonial Office to various police-stations dated 10 June and 8 August 1907, and the notes of 20 June and 19 August 1907 (BArch R1001/5422, 41-44). This source is not quite dependable. Mentioning an “oriental mission house” in the Georgenkirchstraße may either refer to the house of the Berlin Mission situated in the same street or the German Oriental Mission. A marginal note indicates that the Imperial Colonial Office was not able to identify the “principal” (*Vorsteher*) of the mission, “Pastor Walde”, who was said to have paid Mtoro Bakari about 100 marks for his lessons. Even today there is no evidence for a pastor bearing this name (according to communication with the Berliner Missionswerk, Landeskirchliches Archiv Berlin-Brandenburg, Johannes-Lepsius-Archiv at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, and the archives of the Catholic diocese of Berlin). Thus, “Pastor Walde” can possibly be identified as Martin Wilde, cf. his article and book in the bibliography.

⁶ Letters of C. Meinhof, Groß-Lichterfelde 4 and 8 July 1907, and a draft letter dated 13 July 1913 (BMW bmw1-2962: personal file of D. Buck, 19, 21, 26). D. Buck was the only treasurer of the Berlin Missionary Society who went to East Africa in 1907, according to Th. Altena, “*Ein Häuflein Christen ...*”, appendix: 45.

⁷ Besides taking over a relevant publishing house (Dietrich Reimer) in 1891, Ernst Vohsen filled various important functions in the context of German colonization, e.g. serving as a consul in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 1881 on, then staying in Zanzibar as the plenipotentiary of the German East African Society between 1888 and 1891, becoming the director of this society after returning to Berlin, and later also being active for the Imperial Colonial Office and the German Colonial society, cf. H. Schnee, *Deutsches Koloniallexikon*, vol.3, 630.

⁸ See the letters of the German Colonial Society and the publishing house dated 7 and 29 November 1907 (BArch R1001/5422, 49, 51).

⁹ According to the inspector of the Berlin Mission, cf. his letter to the Secretary of State in the Imperial Colonial Office, Berlin 7 December 1907 (BArch R1001/5422, 53-54).



5.1 The house of the German Oriental Mission in 1904

months after his contract had terminated at the SOL.¹⁰ Presumably, Meinhof's recommendation also helped him to make contact with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). In June 1906 its General Secretary asked the Colonial Department to find a job for him, either in Germany or East Africa.¹¹ This may indicate that Mtoro Bakari had participated in discussions of the YMCA, and that he had begun to give talks about East Africa at schools in Berlin and surrounding areas, as he evidently did in 1908. Using his connections not only as a linguist but also as a former pastor, it was logical for Carl Meinhof to take advantage of his protégé's abilities for the education of prospective Christian missionaries. As a member of the directorate of the

¹⁰ E. Seesemann to the mission director, Berlin 5 July 1905 (AFSt LMW II.32.537, n.p.).

¹¹ "Eugen Wittmer to the Colonial Department, Berlin 19 June 1906" (BArch R1001/5422, 27). The archives of the YMCA in Berlin were destroyed during the Second World War.

German Oriental Mission he organized discussions with Mtoro Bakari who must have had a good knowledge of the German language by that time.

Subsequently a colloquium lasting two hours began to take place twice a week in the mission house of the German Oriental Mission during the winter semester of 1905/06 and the summer semester of 1906.¹² Members of other Protestant missionary societies – namely the Berlin Mission, the North German Mission, the Rhine Mission, the Leipzig Mission, the Basel Mission, and the mission of the Moravian Church – also attended. According to Carl Meinhof the colloquium gave the students the opportunity of being “instructed about the teachings of Islam by a Mohammedan called in for that purpose, and to dispute with him”.¹³ In February 1906 the mission directorate of the German Oriental Mission had decided to conduct a regular colloquium on the theory and practice of Islam. However, its venue was shifted to the mission house of the Berlin Missionary society sometime after Carl Meinhof had left the mission directorate in October 1906.¹⁴ It continued until the winter semester of 1908/09, after which Mtoro Bakari left Berlin.

There is very little information about the changing thematic focuses. In the first semester the colloquium reportedly centred on Islamic theology, worship, and the religious life of the Muslims, while the Gospel of Mathew was the basis of the discussions during the second semester.¹⁵ According to Emil Bachmann, one of the missionary students of the Moravian Church who matriculated for Swahili at the SOL and attended the colloquium in the summer semester of 1907, the discussions had to do with Islam and mainly took place between the mission inspectors of the Berlin Missionary Society – presumably those dealing with Africa, Carl Axenfeld and Martin Wilde – and an “educated Negro from German East Africa”.¹⁶ In the winter semester of 1908/09, another missionary student, Nis Gaarde, was told to attend the colloquium by Rudolf Stern, a missionary who may also have participated since he had retired from his work in German East Africa (Unyamwezi) and returned to Germany shortly before. Nis Gaarde reported that “the East African Mtoro gave lectures about the Quran” usually followed by a

¹² Johannes Lepsius founded this mission in 1895 in the context of his public protest against the persecution of the Armenian people, which reached genocidal dimensions in 1915-1916. Its major objective was the spread of Protestant Christianity among Muslim populations in the Near and Middle East and in southeastern Europe.

¹³ C. Meinhof, ‘Heidenmission und Muhammedanermission’, *CbO*, 7/4 (1906), 51 (quote); Anonymous, ‘Aus dem Seminar der Deutschen Orientmission’, *CbO*, 7/9 (1906), 144.

¹⁴ Richard Schäfer, *Geschichte der Deutschen Orient-Mission*, Potsdam, 1932, 53-54. C. Meinhof was a member of the mission directorate from November 1904 to October 1906. Th. Altena, ‘*Ein Häuflein Christen ...*’, appendix: 45.

¹⁵ Anonymous, ‘Aus dem Seminar der Deutschen Orientmission’, *CbO*, 7/9 (1906), 144.

¹⁶ E. Bachmann to P.O. Hennig, Rixdorf 1 May 1907 (UHB MD 667: personal file of Karl Emil Bachmann, n.p.). He matriculated for Swahili in the summer semester of 1907 (AVPS).

discussion. His timetable shows that, at that time, the colloquium lasted for one hour and took place twice a week.¹⁷ The monthly receipts that Emil Bachmann sent to his mission society indicate that the participants would make small contributions to pay Mtoro Bakari. For “attending lectures” he spent 4.15 marks in May, for “lectures and tip for teacher” 1.90 marks in June, and “tip (teacher)” 2.50 marks in July 1907.¹⁸ In his monthly receipts, Nis Gaarde included the expenses of his trips to the mission house, where he attended the colloquium. He also mentioned that he spent 2 marks each for three “conversations on Islam” that he had with Mtoro Bakari at the end of December 1908.¹⁹

It is not clear whether the colloquium took place continuously from the end of 1905 to the beginning of 1909. This may have not been the case immediately after the Bakaris returned from East Africa, i.e. in the winter semester of 1906/07, but since the colloquium was not made public, the lack of related evidence for the winter semester of 1907/08 and the summer semester of 1908 may simply be explained by the fact that it is difficult to find additional evidence. Be that as it may, it is quite obvious that, until the end of 1908, Mtoro Bakari largely worked and earned his living in the context of Christian missions, though it appears that he never received any salary, in contrast to Carl Meinhof who was unofficially paid 200 marks for “his teaching activities in the mission house” in 1907 and again in 1908.²⁰ The directory of Berlin for the year 1909 even identified Mtoro Bakari as a “missionary”, a designation that was probably based on information he provided himself.²¹ Clearly, in his eyes, both Islam and Christianity were genuine options for spreading revealed religion and civilization in non-literate societies.

Despite the controversial discussions in the colloquium and the adverse attitudes towards Islam, which generally increased when Muslims, especially

¹⁷ N. Gaarde to P.O. Hennig, Berlin 1 December 1908, with his time table attached (UHB MD 767: personal file of Nis Hansen Gaarde, n.p.; cf. UHB MD 1064: personal file of R. Stern). N. Gaarde matriculated for Swahili in the summer semester of 1908 and the winter semester of 1908/09 (AVPS).

¹⁸ E. Bachmann to P.O. Hennig, Rixdorf o.D., 2 July 1907 and 1 August 1907, with the monthly receipts attached (UHB MD 667, n.p.).

¹⁹ N. Gaarde to P.O. Hennig, Berlin 4 and 11 January 1909, with monthly receipts attached (UHB MD 767, n.p.).

²⁰ C. Meinhof to the treasurer, Groß-Lichterfelde 2 December 1908, and the remarks of the mission inspectors Wilhelm Gründler and Carl Axenfeld (BMW bmw1-584, 118).

²¹ Mtoro Bakari apparently lived as a lodger until 1907 when he began to rent apartments in Berlin-Charlottenburg, cf. the first entry under his name in the directory for 1908, indicating that he was a lecturer living in Suarezstraße 48. According to the following directory (Berliner Adressbuch 1909), he was a missionary living in Kaiser-Friedrich-Straße 51. See the online-directory under <http://adressbuch.zlb.de/> (March 2008).

those who were open to African religious ideas, were being suspected of having taken part in the Maji Maji War, Mtoro Bakari must have been widely respected, at least by those who organized the colloquium. One indication of how he was seen is an article on Islam in the Zaramo area in which a mission inspector of the Berlin Missionary Society, Carl Axenfeld, distinguished between real Muslims, namely educated Swahili, and the majority clinging to superficial Islamic beliefs and practices, thus being easily influenced by superstition and barbarism.²² Despite his continuous contributions, Mtoro Bakari was not invited to take part in the wider public debates on Islam that commenced after he left Berlin. He was, for instance, not considered in the discussion about the creation of a lectureship for Islamic studies at the seminary of the Bethel Mission, which commenced after the German Oriental Mission failed to attract a sufficient number of students for similar courses between 1909 and 1911.²³ Needless to say, he was not asked to take up any position in the German Society of Islamic Studies (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde*) founded in 1912.²⁴

The character of the colloquium apparently changed over time, with Mtoro Bakari finally playing an active role in informing members of various missionary societies about Islamic ideas and practices. Since he certainly had to prepare himself for the meetings and the audiences were small, he could hardly have earned much more than the two marks per hour that he would charge for teaching Swahili. Clearly, the constant demand of language lessons secured him the larger part of his income. At the turn of the year 1905/06 Carl Nauhaus, a missionary of the Berlin Missionary Society who studied Bantu languages during his vacation in Germany, suggested formally employing Mtoro Bakari. Carl Axenfeld, however, saw no chance of helping “the poor wretch” in this way believing that “we cannot dare to support this man publicly because his case concerns one of the most sensitive questions of colonial policy” and arguing that there were not enough students at that time.²⁵ While it was a normal practice not to accept Muslims or Africans as

²² C. Axenfeld, ‘Vom Islam in Usaramo’, *MbBMG*, December 1908, 560-561; C. Axenfeld, ‘Ostafrikanische Kämpfe’, *MbBMG*, March 1909, 51-52; cf. the reports of Martin Klamroth on Islam among the Zaramo, Maneromango 1 June 1906 (BMW bmw1-1964, n.p.).

²³ Cf. the related correspondence of the Berlin Missionary Society (BMW bmw1-1975); Anonymous, ‘Das muhammedanische Seminar der deutschen Orient-Mission’, *CbO*, 10/8 (1909), 114-116. The Bethel Mission did not agree to create teaching positions for the mullahs, who had given courses on behalf of the German Oriental Mission, because they were Muslims. Samuel Jäger to the Rhine Missionary Society, Bethel 20 September 1911 (VEM RMG 1.083, n.p.).

²⁴ Cf. the list of persons who were to be asked to join the general committee, attached to a letter that the society sent to the Leipzig Mission in 1912 (AFSt LMW II.32.70, n.p.).

²⁵ C. Axenfeld to C. Nauhaus (junior), 5 January 1906 (BMW bmw1-583, 188). Nauhaus’ letter may no longer exist, cf. his personal file (BMW bmw1-3779). He matriculated for Bantu

teachers at mission seminaries, Carl Meinhof repeatedly suggested employing Mtoro Bakari as a teacher to Samuel Baudert, who began to teach at the seminary of the Moravian Church after attending Meinhof's courses in the summer semester of 1907.²⁶ However, this missionary society, based in a small town 200 kilometres southeast of Berlin, had a limited interest in Swahili courses since it mainly sent missionaries to the southwestern and western parts of German East Africa.

It must have been hard to earn a living for Mtoro Bakari although he gave private Swahili lessons to quite a number of private students between 1905 and 1909. The Berlin Missionary Society took over stations in the Zaramo area from the Evangelical Mission for German East Africa, which shifted to Bethel and was renamed Bethel Mission in 1906. It appears, however, that there were hardly any members of that society actually taking private Swahili lessons until 1907, except for those already mentioned, namely the mission inspector Martin Wilde, the bookkeeper Diedrich Buck and the missionary Carl Nauhaus. In autumn 1907, when Daniel Joop was about to leave for East Africa (Uzaramo), the committee of the Berlin Missionary Society decided to finance a course lasting eight weeks for him. Students of the Berlin Missionary Society, who matriculated for Swahili at the SOL at the same time, also attended this course, namely Gustav Pröck, Johannes Schwellnus and Arthur Eilfeld. Mtoro Bakari was offered 2 marks for each of the three hours per week since he had to commute between Berlin-Charlottenburg and the mission house.²⁷ He taught a second course one year later, this time for only two hours a week, but apparently for at least four months. The course was organized for Otto Maaß, a missionary who was spending his vacation in Germany. He was joined by Elisabeth Barbe, the bride of Daniel Joop, the Daudert brothers, of whom only Richard Daudert may have gone to East Africa (Uzaramo), and Gustav Lipke, a missionary student who had already worked in East Africa as a carpenter.²⁸

There is evidence that Mtoro Bakari had more private students. One of them was Friedrich Neub of the Moravian Church. Since he arrived in Berlin

languages at the SOL in the winter semester of 1907/08 (AVPS).

²⁶ S. Baudert to P.O. Hennig, Berlin 10.5.1907 (UHB MD 675: personal file of S. Baudert, n.p.). He matriculated for Swahili in the summer semester of 1907 (AVPS).

²⁷ C. Axenfeld to the mission committee, Berlin 28 September 1908, with a note of the mission director, Martin Gensichen (BMW bmw1-584, 107). G. Pröck and J. Schwellnus matriculated for Swahili (AVPS, winter semester 1907/08), and it seems that Arthur Eilfeld joined them without matriculating (cf. BMW bmw1-584, 55).

²⁸ C. Axenfeld to the treasurer, Hermsdorf 6 December 1908, with notes concerning the payments to Mtoro Bakari on the reverse, including 52 marks and 6 unpaid receipts by 21 May 1909 (BMW bmw1-584, 119). R. Daudert and G. Lipke matriculated for Swahili (AVPS, winter semester 1908/09), and it seems that Elisabeth Barbe joined them without matriculating (cf. BMW bmw1-3391: personal file of D. Joop, 33).

after the winter semester of 1908/09 had started, he had to take extra lessons to be able to attend the Meinhof's class. Thus, he quickly learned the basics of Swahili grammar with the assistance of Nis Gaarde, and Mtoro Bakari improved his oral proficiency.²⁹ Naturally, it is difficult to find evidence of students of Mtoro Bakari who were not members of missionary societies. Among them, however, was Max Plazikowski who contacted Carl Meinhof and reminded him that they had met "during the years 1905-1906 when you introduced Mtoro ben Bakari to me as a private Swahili teacher".³⁰

Mtoro Bakari may have also benefited from Meinhof's recommendation when he came into contact with Bernhard Struck, who was studying African languages at the SOL in 1907/08, published a number of related articles, and who later became a professor of anthropology at the universities of Dresden and Jena.³¹ Apparently, he was taking private lessons with Mtoro Bakari in 1907 and 1908 when he wrote two Swahili stories for *Kiongozi* and another Swahili story which, it seems, was only published in German.³² Having noticed that a former teacher of his, Prof. Carl Heinrich Becker, was going to offer an introductory course in Swahili at the Colonial Institute in Hamburg, Struck suggested employing Mtoro Bakari as an assistant. In a letter to Becker he wrote: "Although it would be a pity to be left without his copious and always instructive conversations, I would be happy to see his abilities utilized in more proper ways than they are at present".³³ In December 1908 Carl Meinhof sent a letter of recommendation to Carl Heinrich Becker in which he expressed his views on Mtoro Bakari as a person as well as on his qualities as a language teacher and communicator of East African culture:³⁴

²⁹ N. Gaarde to P.O. Hennig, Berlin 22 December 1908 and 11 January 1909 (UHB MD 767, n.p.); F. Neub to P.O. Hennig, Berlin 1 February 1909 (UHB MD 931: personal file of F. Neub, n.p.). F. Neub matriculated for Swahili in the summer semester of 1908 and the winter semester of 1908/09 (AVPS).

³⁰ Max Leon Plazikowski to Carl Meinhof, Addis Ababa 21 July 1925 (StA HH 364-13, Afrikanistik, 59, n.p.). He matriculated for Swahili at the SOL in the winter semester of 1907/08 (AVPS).

³¹ He matriculated for Hausa in the winter semester of 1907/08 and for Ewe in the summer semester of 1908, but not for Swahili (cf. AVPS). For Struck's biography and publications see the article of Sigrun Nützsche in the bibliography (page 140). To my knowledge, Struck (1888-1971) did not mention Mtoro Bakari in his publications, cf. in particular B. Struck, 'Suaheli-Bibliographie. Mit einer Einführung in die moderne Suaheli-Literatur', *OL*, 1/3 (1909), 61-92; B. Struck, 'Die Einheitssprache Deutsch-Ostafrikas', *KR*, 13/4 (1921), 164-196.

³² B. Struck, 'Kisa cha uwongo', *Kiongozi*, 3/27 (August 1907); 'Visa vya mula Nasreddin', *Kiongozi*, 3/29 (October 1907); 'Negerhumor: die Geschichte der Brüder Amran, eine Suaheli-Erzählung aus Deutsch-Ostafrika', *KH*, 1/23 (2 August 1908), supplement, 3.

³³ B. Struck to C.H. Becker, Heidelberg 15 August 1908 (GStA PK, VI.HA, Nachlass C.H. Becker, Nr.4386).

³⁴ C. Meinhof to C.H. Becker, Groß-Lichterfelde 30 December 1908 (StA HH 361-6, V 156, 2).

I have known Mtoro since 1902 and personally I never had any problems with him; he is very punctual and conscientious, perfectly courteous, and always tactful. Yet at the same time he is a very good teacher. That he is defenceless as a coloured person when the students in their pride of the white race taunt him goes without saying. The administration has to protect him against that. His conversation courses are very good. With the same deftness he talks about trade, cultivation, travelling, etc., as about the life of the people in the towns; and he is equally at home discussing birth and death, feasting and fasting, market and family, etc. He has a brilliant sense of humour and can always highlight his topic or add perceptive remarks. He speaks and writes Arabic fluently and knows a large part of the Quran by heart. I would not suggest using him as a gatekeeper or courier because this would negatively affect his position in regard to the students. If you want to take advantage of his spare time let him write down Swahili traditions of which he has broad knowledge and which are not yet published.

The lecturers at the School of Oriental Languages in Berlin earn 3000-3600 marks, the boys used at present, of course, not. They receive a full pension and 30 marks monthly. But they are not able to do the same as Mtoro. With 1200-1500 marks he would have to look for additional income. In case you want him to work for you alone, you would have to pay him at least 2000 marks. As far as I know he does not have any children in Africa but he has to provide for the parents of the wife. He makes a living by giving talks in German about East Africa in schools in Berlin and surrounding areas.

I consider him to be extremely serviceable, you can learn more from him than from 20 books. He is also acquainted with the language of poetry. I do not think it is possible that his conduct will become a matter of concern; of course, in his case one has to observe the same courtesies as with educated people – excuse me for this remark, but one cannot take this for granted with regard to all students.

He is well grounded in Islam. For years, we have conducted disputations on the topic “Islam and Christianity” with the intention of informing students and missionaries, and he always defended himself bravely and sometimes left us and our ideas high and dry.

6

At the Colonial Institute in Hamburg

It is a real blessing that the Colonial Institute is located in Hamburg, since there is a real colonial wind blowing here; one makes direct contact with the actual working forces, the blessing of which I have felt vibrantly.

Carl Heinrich Becker in May 1909

After Meinhof's intervention had opened the way for Mtoro Bakari to work as a lecturer again, German colleagues and students profited from his unbroken willingness to share his knowledge of the languages and cultures of East Africa. On the surface, Hamburg lived up to its name as a liberal and independent port city; Mtoro Bakari's marriage did not become a matter of public concern. However, the city's atmosphere reflected not only the enormous growth of maritime trade during the nineteenth century, but also the colonial endeavours of Germany since the 1880s.¹ In fact, the situation of African tutors at the Department of Colonial Languages at the *Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut* (Hamburg Colonial Institute, HCI), which was founded in 1908, did not differ in principal from the conditions at the SOL in Berlin. Cultural condescension and racist thinking were ever-present characteristics of Mtoro Bakari's academic environment. There are indications that he did not fully understand the significance of underlying prejudices and their implications, notably in the case of his superiors.

In the Eurocentric eyes of Carl Meinhof, a former pastor, Islam was a "political religion" which formed an obstacle for Christianization and for the progress of humanity in general. From this perspective, cultural antagonism could easily be used as an argument for legitimizing violent confrontation. Carl Meinhof believed that Islam was a "threat" and took part in the ideological "fight against Islam", an idea widely found in both Protestant and Catholic publications after 1900. His position may be placed in the context of European power fantasies and related fears of losing control or facing resistance which, for instance, informed contemporary discourses on the "yellow peril" (the Chinese) or "Ethiopianism" (independent African

¹ Cf. the quotation at the beginning of this chapter quoted from a letter of C.H. Becker to Martin Hartmann, Hamburg 19 May 1909, reproduced in L. Hanisch (ed.), *Islamkunde und Islamwissenschaft im Deutschen Kaiserreich*, Leiden, 52.



6.1 The auditorium used by the Colonial Institute in 1912 (the main building – *Hauptgebäude* – of the University of Hamburg since its foundation in 1919)

churches emerging in South Africa). In 1908 Carl Meinhof pointed out that colonial officers should not express sympathy for Islam and should be aware “that Islam is the enemy of European culture. One can make friends with a particular Mohammedan and realize at the same time that his religion is hostile to culture.”² When writing this he surely had Mtoro Bakari in mind with whom he was better acquainted than with any other Muslim at the time. The fact that Carl Meinhof not only had a low opinion of Islam but also ascribed an inferior racial status to Africans became painfully clear in 1913 when Mtoro Bakari broke with him.

As professor for the History and Culture of the Orient, Carl Heinrich Becker tried to develop a more differentiated approach. In 1909 he argued that the different levels of civilization are not grounded in the main religions, as was widely believed, but in the variety of popular cultures (*Volkskulturen*) or “races”. For him, religious diversity was ultimately the result of racial differences.³ On the basis of this racialist theory, Becker argued against the

¹
² C. Meinhof, ‘Mission und Islam in Ostafrika’, *EMM*, n.s. 52/1 (1908), 8; cf. C. Meinhof, *Zwingt uns die Heidenmission Muhammedanermmission zu treiben?* Osterwieck, 1906, 16.

³ For this theory see C.H. Becker, ‘Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien?’ *KR*, 1/5 (1909), 291-292; cf. C.H. Becker, ‘Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas’, *IWWKT*, 4/8

French “assimilation” policy because it ignored the “recognition of the undeniable inferiority of the black races”. He approved the “solidarity of the white race vis-à-vis the Negroes” and with it the status of Europeans as “trustees” and “educators”. Pointing to the “impudence of the emancipated Christian Negroes” he also expressed scepticism concerning missionary endeavours. In consequence, he put forward the idea of a somewhat neutral state not only promoting Christianization but also the spread of Islam in view of its positive role in the process of civilization and economic development.⁴ All in all, he did not see Islam as a “threat”, especially not the “submissive” and “fatalistic” Muslims in East Africa or the Swahili in general, whom he characterized as a “degraded people who have lost their own will and willingly accept every kind of foreign rule”.⁵

While it is not clear how far Mtoro Bakari became aware of Meinhof’s and Becker’s dispositions towards different “races” and religions, they certainly influenced his working conditions. From April 1909 onwards, Carl Heinrich Becker offered him the position of a “personal assistant” for a monthly payment of 200 marks, thus taking advantage of his abilities at the beginning of his well-known research on Islamic history and culture.⁶ The reason for choosing him was, as Prof. Becker wrote, the fact that he had “served Meinhof and others as an object” and that he would like to “use such an object from Easter on”.⁷ From the beginning, he must have thought of “using” Mtoro Bakari for teaching purposes since he himself was investing a substantial amount of time in organizing a course in Swahili.⁸ Prof. Becker, who never visited East Africa and certainly did not speak the language, apparently had to offer this course because the Imperial Colonial Office had agreed to send a minimum of twenty students to the HCI from the winter semester of 1908/09 onwards.⁹ In the following semester Mtoro Bakari

(1910), 246, 252; C.H. Becker, ‘Staat und Mission in der Kolonialpolitik’, *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*, Berlin, 1910, 645. – For the influence of Becker (1876-1933) as a professor and minister of culture, and his intercession for democratic reforms, see the biography of Guido Müller, *Weltpolitische Bildung und akademische Reform: Carl Heinrich Beckers Wissenschafts- und Hochschulpolitik 1908-1930*, Köln, Wien, 1991.

⁴ C.H. Becker, ‘Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas’, 228, 230, 242 (quotations).

⁵ C.H. Becker, ‘Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien’, 281, 285; cf. 276-277, 285 for his analysis of the “Mecca letter”.

⁶ The only concrete evidence for Bakari’s contribution is the text of a prayer which Becker quoted as a clue for the allegiance shown to the Sultan of Constantinople / Istanbul in East Africa. C.H. Becker, ‘Materialien’, 5, 17-18.

⁷ C.H. Becker to Senator Werner von Melle, Hamburg 29 December 1908 (quotations); note of Becker dated 5 February 1909 (StA HH 361-6, V 156, 1 and 4).

⁸ C.H. Becker to Martin Hartmann, Hamburg 26 December 1908, in L. Hanisch (ed.), *Islamkunde*, Leiden, 48.

⁹ Werner von Melle, *Dreißig Jahre Hamburger Wissenschaft 1891-1921*, Hamburg, vol.1, 1923, 472, 481.

evidently assisted him. It seems that the class was divided into a theoretical and a practical part, which amounted to only one hour each per week.¹⁰ While his superior made use of Velten's Swahili grammar, Mtoro Bakari would tell stories, explain them and ask the students to write them down at home. Reportedly, he also offered additional lessons. As a consequence, the first annual report of the HCI recommended the "assistance of natives" in language teaching, "as it has been done in Berlin for many years with great success".¹¹ In April 1910 Mtoro Bakari was officially employed as a "language assistant" (*Sprachgehilfe*) – the term used at the HCI for foreign tutors who were regarded as having attained no higher education – presumably with the same salary.¹²

During the winter semester of 1909/10 and the summer semester of 1910 he worked as an assistant of Carl Meinhof, who had moved to Hamburg where he had been given a professorship in African languages, the first such professorship worldwide. This position offered him the chance to concentrate on research and writing for a period of about two years and to employ two German research assistants, the doctoral students Martin Heepe and August Klingenheben, from the winter semester of 1910/11 onwards. The fact that Mtoro Bakari conducted at least some of the courses that were published under Meinhof's name shows that he was more than a pronunciation teacher attending the courses of his superior, as he was portrayed in the annual reports of the HCI. Reportedly, he used to be "present at all Professor Meinhof's Swahili classes, so that he can be appealed to on questions of pronunciation, idiom, or native custom".¹³ Even if he gave additional lessons, his teaching load must have been comparatively low since Meinhof's courses did not exceed four hours a week (two each in the elementary and the advanced courses). The fact that Mtoro Bakari might have actually taught them is indicated by a note saying that Carl Meinhof had to replace him on 2 February 1910 both in the elementary and advanced courses.¹⁴ In the winter semester of 1910/11 Martin Heepe began to teach a Swahili conversation course, apparently together with Mtoro Bakari as his "assistant".¹⁵ In the

¹⁰ Cf. the corrections of the syllabus (StA HH 364-6, C Ib, Bd. 2, in the envelope labelled "Korrekturen zum Vorlesungsverzeichnis des KP").

¹¹ HCI, *Bericht über das erste Studienjahr. Wintersemester 1908/09, Sommersemester 1909*, Hamburg, 1909, 33.

¹² It seems that the contract of Mtoro Bakari no longer exists.

¹³ JAS (London), 10/37 (October 1910), 105-106. Presumably, this information was based on a letter that Carl Meinhof sent to Alice Werner in 1910.

¹⁴ Cf. StA HH 361-6, IV 1385, Heft 1, 2 and 8; for the summer semester of 1911 see StA HH 364-6, C Ib, Bd. 5, 1 and Bd. 6, 3 and 8; HCI, *Bericht über das zweite Studienjahr. Wintersemester 1909/10, Sommersemester 1910*, Hamburg, 1910, 80.

¹⁵ Cf. HCI, *Bericht über das dritte Studienjahr. Wintersemester 1910/11, das Sommersemester 1911*, Hamburg, 1911, 65.

- * **Prof. D. Meinhof LL. D.:** 1) Suaheli für Anfänger. 4stündig. Mo. Mi. Fr. 8–9 Vorm., Di. 3–4.
- * 2) Duala für Fortgeschrittene. 2stündig. Mo. Mi. 9–10 Vorm.
- * 3) Vergleichende Grammatik der Bantusprachen. 1stündig. Fr. 9–10 Vorm.
- 4) Übungen im Suaheli mit dem eingeborenen Sprachgehilfen **Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari**. Täglich, außer Sonnabend, 6–8.
- 5) Übungen im Duala mit dem eingeborenen Sprachgehilfen **Peter Makembe**. Täglich, außer Sonnabend, 6–8.
- * 6) Herero, Nama und Tse in zu verabredenden Stunden.
- * **Zache:** Suaheli-Übungen über Eingeborenenbehandlung und Eingeborenenrechtspflege. 2stündig. Mi. 6–8.
- * **Heepe:** 1) Suaheli für Fortgeschrittene. 2stündig. Mo. Mi. 9–10 Vorm.
- * 2) Ndonga in besonders zu verabredenden Stunden.
- * **Klingensleben:** 1) Ful für Anfänger. Mo. Mi. Fr. 8–9 Vorm., Di. 3–4.
- * 2) Hausa in zu verabredenden Stunden.
- 3) Übungen im Ful und Hausa mit dem eingeborenen Sprachgehilfen **Sadi Musa ben Adam el Fulsani**. Täglich, außer Sonnabend, 6–8.
- * **Prof. Dr. Borchling:** Kapholländisch. 2stündig. Nach Verabredung. Mit Übungen mit dem Sprachgehilfen **Johannes Tischer**.

6.2 African language courses in the program of the Colonial Institute for the winter semester of 1911/12, including Afrikaans (*Kapholländisch*); the courses marked by an asterisk required the payment of matriculation fees

next semester the elementary course, which was officially given by Carl Meinhof, was extended to four hours, and Martin Heepe taught the advanced course for the first time. Mtoro Bakari began to offer “Exercises in Swahili”, which took place from 6 to 8 o’clock in the evening from Mondays to Fridays. In the winter semester of 1911/12 Martin Heepe officially taught the advanced course; during the following semester he also taught the elementary course.¹⁶

¹⁶ C. Meinhof taught an elementary course of 4 hours and Martin Heepe the advanced course of 2 hours in the winter semester of 1911/12, and the latter was responsible for both of these courses from the following semester on (cf. StA HH 364-6, C Ib, Bd. 7/1, Heft 1-6).

That Mtoro Bakari started with a lower salary than in Berlin was partly a reflection of the lower salary levels in Hamburg, but that he did not have the same status as “white” lecturers without a doctorate is substantiated by the fact that his name neither appeared in the corresponding section of the syllabus, the annual reports of the Colonial Institute, nor in the list of teachers in the Hamburg directory.¹⁷ In the winter semester of 1911/12 Martin Heepe and August Klingenberg were officially listed as members of the teaching personnel. For the first time, the names of the African “assistants” were published and their “exercises” identified as courses of the European teachers. The Swahili conversation course was described as “Exercises in Swahili with the native language assistant Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari” up to the winter semester of 1912/13 in the annual report of the HCI, and up to the winter semester of 1913/14 in the syllabus.¹⁸

There is no specific information on how Mtoro Bakari and Martin Heepe actually worked together. It is clear, however, that their cooperation intensified over time since the “exercises” increased from originally four hours to five hours in the summer semester of 1912, to eight hours in the winter semester of 1912/13, and they decreased to six hours in the summer semester of 1913, according to the annual reports of the HCI. In fact, the existing sources misrepresent Mtoro Bakari’s teaching in fundamental ways. Of course, he was not a mere assistant, and he was far from seeing himself as such. It is possible that he actually took part in all of the courses of Martin Heepe, thus significantly helping him in developing his teaching skills from the very beginning of his career.

While remaining on favourable terms with the professors Becker and Meinhof within the context of work, private contacts must have been rather limited. When the Bakaris came to Hamburg in March 1909 they were given an apartment in a middle or working class environment in the eastern part of the city, and did not leave this area when they changed their residence in 1910 and 1912.¹⁹ So they stayed at some distance from the professors who preferred to live to the north or west of the city centre, close to the Alster Lake. This distance, however, did not necessarily imply lower social status. In the summer semester of 1911 a student from the Breklum Mission, Peter

¹⁷ The Hamburg directory listed associate professors without doctorate from 1912 on, in 1913 not only Yen Liu Shang from the East Asia Department of the HCI but also “assistant teachers” (*Hilfslehrer*) at college level, cf. the Hamburg directory, i.e. *Hamburger Adressbuch*, 1912, I-37, and 1913, I-38.

¹⁸ HCI, *Bericht* [...], 1911-1914; StA HH 364-6, C Ib, Bd. 2-7/1.

¹⁹ The apartment was situated in Kinkelsweg 3 (a street formerly connecting Rückert- and Seumestraße) and included 3 small rooms for which they paid 400 marks annually (cf. StA HH 361-6, V 156, 5-9). They did not go very far when moving to Holstenstraße 11 in Eilbek and Hammerstraße 34 in Wandsbek. See the registration file of Mtoro bin Bakari (StA HH 332-8, A30); *Hamburger Adressbuch* 1909-1913.

Jessen, reported that about 15 students attended the Swahili classes, among them physicians, colonial officers, farmers, and six missionaries. He further mentioned that the “lecturer Mtoro, a Negro” had explained the Swahili word for “pagan” (*mshenzi*) and told them that the Swahili designation for “white man” refers to an uneducated or ignorant person, thus being a rude name.²⁰ He was, apparently, referring to the word *Mzungu* (European), which still conveys such ethnocentric connotations, but which was (and is) not always used in a negative sense. Perceptibly, Mtoro Bakari motivated his students to reflect on prevalent Eurocentric thinking, ultimately making it clear that he, an educated person, saw himself at least on the same social level.

Evidently, Mtoro Bakari maintained a close working relationship with Carl Meinhof after both of them had found new positions at the HCI in Hamburg. He checked the manuscript and wrote all the conversations for a textbook published in 1910, *The Language of the Swahili in German East Africa*. In this book, Carl Meinhof used an elaborated system of diacritical signs to present his analysis of Swahili phonetics, for which he received significant clues from Mtoro Bakari.²¹ Carl Meinhof also profited from his support, for he helped to edit an outstanding piece of ‘classical’ Swahili literature, the epic of Heraklios (Swahili: *Chuo cha Herkal*), which appeared in four parts in 1911/12.²² Mtoro Bakari seems to have done much of the detailed work, including the explanation of Arabic words, presumably continuing the editing work that Sulaiman bin Said and Amour bin Nassor had done on behalf of Carl Gotthilf Büttner.

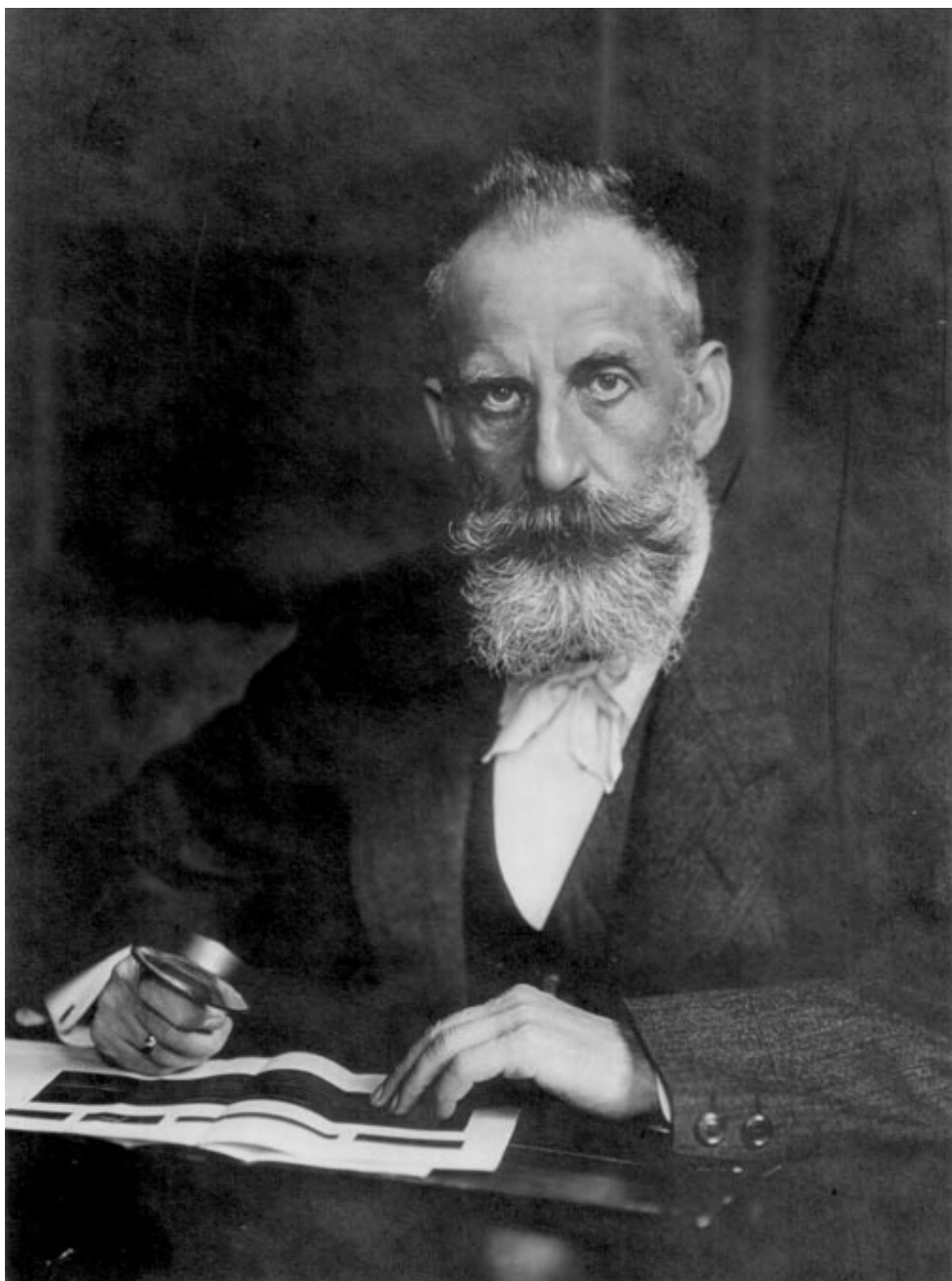
That he made wide-ranging contributions is clearer in the case of the Zaramo stories and songs edited by Otto Dempwolff, who had studied Swahili at the SOL in 1903/04 and also worked as a teacher at the Department of Colonial Languages. Apart from elucidating the meaning of phrases and words, Mtoro Bakari provided information on pronunciation, grammar and dialectal differences.²³ Though the authors did not mention

²⁰ P. Jessen to Hans Detlef Bracker, Othmarschen (Altona) 6 May 1911 (Brekum Mission Archives, A.A.-Sign.319: personal file of Peter Jessen, n.p.). Jessen wrongly wrote “*mwenzi*” (friend) and translated it as “*Heide*” (pagan). According to Jessen, C. Meinhof and M. Heepe taught 2 hours each and Mtoro Bakari gave exercises from 6 to 8pm.

²¹ C. Meinhof, *Die Sprache der Suaheli in Deutsch-Ostafrika*, Berlin, 1st edition, 1910, IV.

²² See Meinhof’s introduction in C.G. Büttner, ‘Chuo cha Herkal. Das Buch von Herkal’, ed. by C. Meinhof, *Z/KS*, 2/1 (1911-12), 2.

²³ O. Dempwolff, ‘Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen Deutsch-Ostafrikas. 3. Ein Märchen und 30 Lieder Dzalamo’, *Z/KS*, 3/3 (1913), 161-181, see footnotes 13, 15, 32, 54, 71 and 72. – After working as a staff-surgeon in German New Guinea and German East Africa Dr. O. Dempwolff (1871-1938) studied African and South East Asian languages and later headed the Department of Indonesian and Austronesian Languages at the University of Hamburg, cf. <http://www.dempwolff.de/> (March 2008). He is incorrectly listed as “Dempfwolff” in the school’s official register of students (AVPS, winter semester of 1903/04).



6.3 Carl Meinhof in 1926/27, looking at the graphical recordings of voices as they were produced in the Phonetic Laboratory

him, he may well have rendered minor assistance in the case of another three articles concerning the Zaramo language.²⁴ In the first half of 1911 the director of the newly founded Phonetic Laboratory, Giulio Panconcelli-Calzia, studied aspirated and non-aspirated phonemes in Swahili, which until that time, had not been properly distinguished by some authors. For this purpose, he compared the pronunciation of three persons, among them a “native [...] from Bagamoyo” and a “German from Leinde [...] who knows Swahili” – obviously none other than Mtoro Bakari and Martin Heepe.²⁵ Mtoro Bakari must have served as a speaker for Panconcelli-Calzia’s “experimental phonetics” more than once; he had already done this at the Berlin Phonogram Archives. How important the study of African languages, in particular of phonetics, was in Germany is highlighted by the fact that the German Kaiser attended a short lecture of Carl Meinhof during his visit to Hamburg on 19 October 1912.²⁶ On this occasion, “five language teachers” were standing on the podium, besides Victor Toso (Ewe) apparently Peter Makembe (Douala), Karl Atangana (Jaunde), the unnamed African servant of the German teacher Hans Zache (Swahili), and Mtoro Bakari.²⁷

With the decreasing contributions made to the publications of his colleagues, Mtoro Bakari had more time to engage in additional activities. Thus, he might have begun to look for private students. This cannot be seen as a surprising move since he occasionally taught missionary students who had not been able to attend Meinhof’s course in time.²⁸ The “commercial

²⁴ C. Meinhof, ‘Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika. XII. Dzalamo’, *MSOS*, 10 (1907), 90-110; O. Dempwolff, ‘Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen in Deutsch-Ostafrika. 2. Eine lautliche Besonderheit des Dzalamo’, *ZfKS*, 2/4 (1912), 257-260; A. Klingenheben (ed.), ‘Afrikanische Liebeslieder’, *ZfKS*, 3/3 (1912), 244-247.

²⁵ See the short graphic recording of his voice in G. Panconcelli-Calzia, ‘Über die aspirierten und nichtaspirierten Verschlusslaute sowie den Frageton im Suaheli’, *ZfKS* 1/4 (1911), 313, 311 Fig.2; cf. C. Meinhof & G. Panconcelli-Calzia, ‘Phonetisches Laboratorium des Seminars für Kolonialsprachen zu Hamburg’, *JHWA*, 29 (1911), 1912, III. Teil, 85-88. There is no material concerning Mtoro Bakari among the records of the Phonetic Laboratory (cf. the list of archives, page 130).

²⁶ A short version of this lecture was published, cf. ‘Der Kaiser im Vorlesungsgebäude’, *Hamburgischer Correspondent*, no. 536, 20 October 1912, 2nd supplement, 1-2; cf. C. Meinhof, ‘Die Bedeutung der Experimentellen Phonetik für die Erforschung der afrikanischen Sprachen’, *Vox*, 23/1 (1913), 22-26.

²⁷ According to a text of Victor Toso dated 8 November 1912 (StA HH 364-13, Afrikanistik, 371, n.p.). In the version published in the journal of the North German Missionary Society the quotation was changed into “five African teachers” (V. Toso, ‘Ein Ewelehrer vor dem Deutschen Kaiser’, *MbNMG*, 73/12 (1912), 127); cf. the syllabus on page 76. – Victor Toso worked as a mission teacher in Togo and spoke German fluently. He arrived in Hamburg on 16 May 1912. Like Mtoro Bakari, he used to give talks, e.g. at schools or for the YMCA. He died on 12 March 1916 and was buried in Hamburg, cf. the related newspaper articles in the department file of Victor Toso (StA HH 364-13, Afrikanistik, 90).

²⁸ For instance, the teacher Helene Hoechel and others in February and March 1911, cf. the

directory” for 1912, which was printed at the end of 1911, reportedly identified him as a “language teacher”. Questioned about this at the Department of Colonial Languages, he stated that this designation was published without his request. Since it may have been copied from section II or IV of the standard directory for 1912, it remains unclear as to whether he was looking for additional sources of income or not.²⁹ It seems that Mtoro Bakari reacted to critical questions by not providing any information about his profession for the directory for 1913, and eventually by identifying himself as a “lecturer” (*Lektor*) in section IV of the directory for 1914.³⁰ Being officially classified as a “language assistant”, Mtoro Bakari thus upgraded his status by making public different designations in the directory. In reality, he was defending his position as an independent lecturer, as we shall see in the next chapter.

The years 1912 and 1913 were another decisive period in Mtoro Bakari’s life. It seems that during this period he increasingly noticed the systematic mechanisms of exclusion that influenced both his career and his position as a colonial subject living in Germany. Apart from realizing how his person was presented in official publications, he must have increasingly understood the ways in which his freedom of action and expression of opinion were curbed by the political forces that shaped colonial policies in Germany. One of them was the German Colonial Society, whose public influence was limited despite its high ranking membership and favourable financial endowment. Predictably, colonial subjects were not accepted as members. None was registered for the general conference taking place with over one thousand participants at the Colonial Institute in Hamburg during the first week of June 1912.³¹ In particular, Mtoro Bakari must have noticed the society’s negative response to the resolution of the German parliament requesting European governments to ensure the validity of “mixed marriages” in the colonies with the intention of making European fathers take responsibility for their children.³²

letters of Carl Axenfeld dated 4 January and 9 March 1911, and the letters of H. Hoechel dated 2, 12 and 17 February 1911, in her personal file (BMW bmw1-3297, 22, 42, 50-53).

²⁹ StA HH 361-6, V 156, 10; cf. Hamburger Adressbuch 1912, II-29 and IV-378. Section III, which can be classified as a “commercial directory” (*Branchenverzeichnis*), mainly lists companies and would hardly include any teachers. I did not find a copy of this section of the directory for 1912, neither in relevant libraries in Hamburg nor in the state archives.

³⁰ Hamburger Adressbuch 1913, II-30 and IV-339; 1914, II-32 and IV-297.

³¹ This number does not include the women accompanying the registered participants, cf. Teilnehmerverzeichnis für die Hamburger Tagung der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Montag, 3. Juni bis Freitag, 7. Juni 1912. Erste Ausgabe (StA HH 361-5 I, Reg. AKA 27).

³² StBVR 13. Leg.Per. 1. Session 1912, Bd.285, 53.-56. Sitzung, 1648-1776; Anlagen Bd.299, Nr.380, 323-325; Nr.400, 345; □ Hauptversammlung am 5. und 6. Juni, DKZ [journal of the German Colonial Society], 29/24 (15 June 1912), 413-419, 416. For additional press reports

The problems he faced in Hamburg roughly coincided with the further steps that were being taken to define the working conditions of “teaching assistants”. In reaction to requests for tutors from Cameroon and German Southwest Africa, the Secretary of State in the Imperial Colonial Office informed the HCI in August 1911 that the colonial administration was still interested in strict limitations on the immigration of “natives”, but that he was now ready to make an exception. He decreed that all the “native” tutors should be treated in the same way as the Swahili “teaching assistants”, namely, they should not be employed for more than one year, they should be lodged in “suitable families” (for 100 marks per month, including meals), and be paid an allowance for buying clothes (250 marks), a monthly sum (30 marks), plus a “gratification” (400 marks for each year) at the end of their employment. In total, this was slightly less than 2400 marks annually including taxes, i.e. equal to the remuneration of Mtoro Bakari; but it was clearly more than the salary of the German assistants of the HCI.³³ Except for their lodgings in German families, this approach was applied in the case of all new “language assistants” both at the Department of Colonial Languages and the Department of the History and Culture of the Orient, including Abdallah bin Wazir who offered Swahili “exercises” from 1914 to 1919 according to the programs of the HCI.³⁴ In German Southwest Africa colonial administrators prevented Africans from becoming tutors from 1912 onwards. In the opinion of the deputy governor, Oskar Hintrager, their readiness to serve in a subordinate position would be “spoilt” by the social environment in Germany and, referring to Mtoro Bakari’s case without mentioning his name, he warned that some would return to the colony with a German wife.³⁵

Up to that time, German academics obtained many of their non-

see in particular: Hamburger Fremdenblatt, Nr.131 (7 June 1912).

³³ Friedrich von Lindequist, to the acting head of the council of professors, Georg Thilenius, Berlin 28 August 1911 (StA HH 361-5 I, VW 121, Heft 3, 3-4; cf. cf. 7-10). The salary of the German assistants, who e.g. made errands and filed newspaper clippings, ranged between 1380 and 1620 marks in 1913 (cf. StA HH 364-6, BIII, Bd.5, Heft 2).

³⁴ Though not mentioned in the corresponding program, a student reported that a “language assistant” offered Swahili “exercises” in May 1914. Joseph Legler to P.O. Hennig, Hamburg 5 Mai 1914 (UHB MD 884, personal file of J. Legler, n.p.). The Annual Report of the HCI notes that Abdallah bin Wazir was “again” employed during the winter semester because the beginning of the war had prevented him from travelling to East Africa (HCI, *Bericht über das Wintersemester 1914/15 und das Sommersemester 1915*, Hamburg, 1915, 32). The “Exercises in Swahili with the native language assistant Abdallah bin Wazir” may have not taken place in the winter semester of 1914/15 because of the war (cf. StA HH 364-6, C Ib, Bd. 7/2). His personal file was not preserved (cf. StA HH 361-5 I, VW 102, Bd. 2, Heft 8).

³⁵ Jens Ruppenthal, *Kolonialismus als „Wissenschaft und Technik“: Das Hamburgische Kolonialinstitut 1908 bis 1919*, Stuttgart, 2007, 190-195. Hintrager’s racist attitude continued until the 1950s when he stated that “fortunately” the Bakaris did not have any children and that their relationship did “of course” not last long. O. Hintrager, *Südwestafrika*, 1956, 74.

European informants from the shipping companies (mainly the Woermann line), the hospital of the Institute of Nautical and Tropical Diseases in Hamburg, and a local zoo owner and organizer of exotic shows (Hagenbeck), as in the case of Giulio Panconcelli-Calzia.³⁶ When the interest in the study of African languages waned during the First World War, the linguists used the opportunity of temporarily obtaining information from prisoners of war and, later, either selected Africans from exotic shows and circuses, or looked for eligible candidates in the harbour.³⁷ These practices continued even after the University of Hamburg was founded in 1919. Between 1924 and 1931, for instance, Hamisi bin Farhani from Dar es Salaam was not awarded a contract on the basis of regular wage agreements because of his “native” status. After being given short notice to quit he unsuccessfully requested compensation, claiming that he had been employed for a period of ten years, and returned to East Africa.³⁸ In the long term, the changing position of “native language assistants” – as African employees were called at the university in Hamburg up to the 1950s – contributed to the decline of teaching and research. The same was true of the SOL and the university in Berlin.³⁹ Instead, institutions such as the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London, founded in 1916, and American universities later on, began to take up a leading role in the study of African languages and cultures, including Swahili.

³⁶ C. Meinhof & G. Panconcelli-Calzia, ‘Phonetisches Laboratorium’, 86; HCI, *Bericht über das vierte Studienjahr. Wintersemester 1911/12, Sommersemester 1912*, Hamburg, 1912, 45; ‘Der Kaiser im Hamburgischen Kolonialinstitut’, *Hamburger Zeitung*, 17/493 (19 October 1912).

³⁷ C. Meinhof and M. Heepe participated in producing around 1650 recordings in 250 languages, now kept by the *Lautarchiv* (phonetic archives) at the Humboldt University in Berlin, cf. the related files in Hamburg (StA HH 361-5 II, Wa 8; StA HH 364-13, Afrikanistik, 283). During the Second World War even the first president of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906-2001), was “used” as informant. Ludwig Gerhardt, ‘Afrikanistische Forschung – die Geschichte einer Kontinuität’, in P. Martin & Ch. Alonzo (eds.), *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt*, München, 2004, 448, 443.

³⁸ In 1931 he filed a case claiming a smaller amount of money, and in 1938 he asked for 5000 marks, cf. the correspondence in StA HH 361-6, IV 673, 37-39, 40-44, 47; and the department file of Hamisi bin Farhani: StA HH 364-13, Afrikanistik, 92.

³⁹ Up to 1960 African staff would be called “language assistant”, thereafter “lecturer” (*Lektor*), according to the annotated list of African employees in Hilke Meyer-Bahlburg & Ekkehard Wolff, *Afrikanistische Sprachen in Forschung und Lehre – 75 Jahre Afrikanistik in Hamburg (1909-1984)*, Berlin, 1986, 87-106; cf. Ernst Dammann, *70 Jahre erlebte Afrikanistik: Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1999, 19-20, 110-111; Holger Stoecker, *Afrikanwissenschaften in Berlin von 1919 bis 1945: Zur Geschichte und Topographie eines wissenschaftlichen Netzwerkes*, Ph.D. dissertation, Humboldt-University, Berlin, 2005, 87-102, cf. 73, 85.

1913: further discord

Never forget what I say: This country belongs to the
Europeans who throw away huge numbers of rupees.
So, bend down and pick them up!

*The District Commissioner of Tanga, Hans Zache,
before leaving for Germany in 1907*

The measures designed to control the working conditions of “black” lecturers went hand in hand with the intention of curbing their intellectual abilities and thus reinforcing the belief in their racial inferiority. The kind of role regarded by many academics as appropriate for a “native” Swahili tutor after 1904 is illustrated by the teaching practice of Hans Zache, a lawyer who had first studied and then taught Swahili at the SOL in Berlin. He began to work for the colonial administration of German East Africa in 1895 when he, together with Carl Velten, collected evidence against Hassan bin Omari (Makunganya) and other opponents of the colonial regime in Kilwa, who were sentenced to death by a court martial.¹ In 1899 he led an expedition against Machemba, a Yao leader in Lindi District whose men had already fought against the colonial military in 1890 and 1895.

Later on, Hans Zache was remembered for having deported a Yao king to Dar es Salaam, where he was executed, and then taking over the administration of Lindi District. Thus, he was nicknamed *kinyonga*, “hangman”, according to a song recited by Hamisi bin Farhani and an explanatory text edited by Maria von Tiling around 1926. The unknown Swahili author obviously merged Zache’s participation in the actions against Makunganya and Machinga into one story, pointing out that it happened during the tenure of Herrmann von Wissmann, who governed the colony in 1889-1891 and 1895-1896, but unaware of the fact that Machemba had been able to take refuge in Mozambique. Moreover, it appears that the original meaning of the nickname *kinyonga* was “chameleon” and that it was invented by Swahili speakers personally acquainted with Hans Zache. Thus, it recalls

¹ H. Zache (1869-1930) edited Swahili texts and published a number of articles and books. The poem of Mwalimu Mbaraka bin Shomari mentions Zache’s “official” nickname (*Bwana Saha*) and praises his qualities as a judge: ‘Shairi ya bana Saha’, in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie*, 293-295; cf. H. Zache (ed.), ‘Das Makunganya-Lied’, *MSOS*, 1, 1898, 105 (see G. Miede et al. (eds.), *Kala Shairi*, 21-22, 278-303, 443-444).

KIONGOZI

Habari kwa watu wote wa Deutsch-Ostafrika.

Mtu akitaku „Kiongozi“, alite Kopis 1 kwa awani hii: Kwa Kiongozi Schule Tanga. Habari atapata kila mwezi „Kiongozi“ kwa muda wa mwaka mmoja.	82 Inatolewa kila mwanzo wa mwezi.	„Kiongozi“ inapatikana katika Shule Tanga. Kiasi cha „Kiongozi“ ni Heller 10. Mtu akileta habari, andikie barna kwa awani hii: Kwa Kiongozi Schule Tanga.
--	---	--

Nummer 23.
April 1907.
Mwaka wa pili.

Kwa herini, watu wa Tanga!

Mwisho wa mwezi huu wa März nitajipakia katika Dampfer „Markgraf“, kwenda Ulaya. Nimekaa katika Deutsch-Ostafrika miaka 11 na nusu. Lakini Tanga mara ya kwanza nimekaa miezi miwili na mara ya pili miezi kumi na tisa.

Nilipokuja mara ya kwanza, nimeona watu nusu wamekufa kwa njaa, nusu wamekonda, mifupa mitupu na nguo hawana, wameuza kwa njaa. Nilipokuja mara ya pili, nimestaajabu sana, kwa sababu hali ya nebi imebadilika kabisa: Nimeona watu, waliolenepa, na sikumwona maskini asiye na nguo. Nimeona wote wanatembea kwa umardadi, hata wabondei, washambaa, wadigo na wakamba. Nikauliza: „Sababu yake nini utajiri huu?“ Nikaona, ya kama ndio wazungu, waliotea feza katika nchi, isiwe na njaa, kila mtu afanyaye kazi, apewa mshahara. Na mwenyi kulima shamba lake, huleta vyakula toka bara, kuja njini kwa gari la moshi, kwa mwendo rahisi na upesi sana. Basi nimesema: Nchi hii inastawi kwa sababu ya wazungu. Tena waswahili na wabondei na wadigo na wote pia wanapatana sana. Hawa wazungu wanaleta feza na miti, inayofaa kupandwa, na akili na usimamizi, maksudi watu wa huku wapate faida yao. Na watu wengine wa huku wanashika jembe, wanafanya kazi ya kulima, nao wanapata faida yao.

Basi na sirkali inatengeza amri, inafukuza maadui, inalima barabara, inajenga madaraja na magari ya moshi na inawapatanisha. Nikaona heri ya nchi hii, nikasema: Nchi hii kwa amri ya Mwenyi enzi Mungu itazidi kustawi alhamdu lillah! Na sasa naakwenda Ulaya: Kwa herini, tena kwa herini! Msisahau maneno yangu: Nchi hii ni wazungu, wanaotupa marupia kwa mikono tele. Haya inamieni kuziokota!

Wasalam!

Bwana mkubwa wa Tanga. Zache.



Amri.

Mtu mwenyi kuficha mwizi na yeye ni mwizi. Tena anayejua habari ya mwizi, akaficha kuipeleka bomani, ni kama aliyeficha mwizi mwenyewe.

Basi katika miezi mitatu hii nimempeleka askari kweni, mwenyi nguo nyekundu, ili awatafute wezi na wabaya wowote, lakini bata sasa bado sijampata bata mmoja.

Basi maakida na majimbe na watu wote wa majini na mashambani, mnaposikia amri kwa kiwa cha askari wetu, mifanye jitihadi, muwakamata wezi na watoro.

Tena watu wa majimaji, waliopolekwa kwa Herr Feilke katika Kwamkoro, wameitokea kadri ya 30. Nao wanatembea huko na huko, wanakwiba vitu vya watu mashambani. Na hao pia tani bidii sana, kuwakamata.

Tanga, den 23. März 1907.
Der Kaiserliche Bezirksamtman. Zache.

Ala! Askari huyu anataka nini?

Hatibu alipokuwa akisoma „Kiongozi“ chake, alikuwapo Fazili. Lakini huyu Fazili hajui kusoma. Basi Hatibu alimsomea habari zote zilizoone ndani. Fazili akafurahi sana. Tena Hatibu alipokuwa akiitafuta, likatoka kataa jekundu. Fazili akamwuliza: „Mbona kataa hii ni jekundu, manginge yote ni mwenye?“ Hatibu akamjibu: „Ina maana kuwa hii ni jekundu, sababu ni Askari huyu. Na mavazi ya askari mbali kuliko yetu.“ Kuwa Fazili ndipo alipomaka, aliposikia huyu ni Askari, akasema: „Ala, Askari huyu anataka nini?“ Basi Hatibu akaanza kumweleza hivi: „Wenzetu wengine ni maaswi, tena wanahini bwana zao, na wengine hutoroka kwa bwana zao na huiba vitu kazawakaza; tena wengine hukataa kazi, wakaenda zao pasipo mapatano yeye na bwana wake. Basi watu hawa ni kama waliolalifu sirkali vilevile. Na sasa wakiwa wamekwisha toroka, bwana mkubwa bumeleka huyu Askari, awakamate. Na kwa ajili wanataka wana na upesi upesi, Askari amawekwa ndani ya „Kiongozi“, wafutane wote pamoja. Maana jina la „Kiongozi“ lime-tangaa kila pahali pa nchi ya kidachi. Isitoghe tena, wana-pandikwa, huainishwa kabisa, Askari asipate kutatizika,

- 7.1 Title page of a Swahili newspaper published by the government school in Tanga. This includes an article of Hans Zache in which the colonial regime is legitimized by its modernization efforts, as well as an announcement in which he warned the population to report the Maji Maji fighters who had been deported to the Tanga District and had escaped from a detention camp.

the stern ways in which he treated Africans and the ostensible kindness he showed towards those who readily followed his orders, as highlighted in the text of 1926. This contradiction was a true reflection of the militaristic and authoritarian attitude of many German colonial officers.²

Hans Zache finally left the colonial service in 1910. In the summer semester of 1911 he began to offer courses at the HCI, including the obligatory “Swahili exercises on the treatment of natives and the administration of native law”. The idea behind this course was to provide an opportunity for the students not only to practice the language but also to gain experience in dealing with “chiefs, workers, natives of a locality, etc.” and thus to get used to the behaviour that was expected of Europeans in the colony. In particular, they had to play witnesses, plaintiffs and defendants in typical proceedings at “native courts”. Himself acting as a district judge, Hans Zache enlisted his African servant and also asked Mtoro Bakari to take up various roles. These plays “offered many opportunities for lectures on language and customs, native law, economy and geography”, as asserted in the annual report of the HCI.³ Unsurprisingly, Mtoro Bakari did not fit into the assigned position of a colonial subject, neither in the roles he played nor in the position of an “assistant”. According to a report of November 1912 Hans Zache “used his own Swahili boy as a language assistant because, as he said, Mtoro, who is employed by the Colonial Institute as a language assistant for Swahili at the Department of African [sic] Languages, does not suit this purpose. Mtoro is more like a ‘scholar’ and only speaks the grammatical Swahili, whereas his own boy speaks the language in the way it is spoken by the Negroes in East Africa during the exercises, and, essentially, this is valuable for the students”.⁴

Despite the fact that he had acquired a fair knowledge of Swahili and was of the same age, Hans Zache did not make use of Mtoro Bakari’s talents and, presumably, tended to avoid any close contact. While there is no evidence for a confrontation in this case, Mtoro Bakari came into conflict with Martin Heepe, who was 23 years old when he finished his theology studies in Berlin, and was employed as an assistant by Carl Meinhof in October 1910. Having attended African language courses since 1908, including Meinhof’s Swahili

² For the nickname *kinyonga* cf. the Swahili words *-nyonga* meaning “hang” and *kinyongo* “ill feeling”, “bitterness”. Both the song and the text titled *Habari ya Kinyonga* survived in the personal file of August Klingenberg (StA HH 364-13, Afrikanistik, 367/4, n.p.), who married Maria von Tiling in 1927. Unsurprisingly, these texts were not included in M. von Tiling’s two editions of Swahili songs (see the bibliography, page 135).

³ HCI, *Bericht über das dritte Studienjahr. Wintersemester 1910/11, Sommersemester 1911*, Hamburg, 1911, 66.

⁴ The words “by the Negroes” were inserted by hand into the type-written text, cf. the note dated 4 November 1912 (StA HH 361-5 I, VW 102, Bd. 2, Heft 1, 1). – The “Department of African Languages” was only set up after the First World War.

lessons, he had already begun to teach a Swahili course in the summer semester of 1911.⁵ Mtoro Bakari, who was responsible for the teaching of Meinhof's classes up to that time, was now relegated to the position of a "language assistant" by Martin Heepe. That the final confrontation did not occur earlier than in November 1913 was due to the repeated intervention of Carl Meinhof who explained the problem to the competent privy councillor in the administration for higher education, Max Eduard Förster, in the following way:⁶

Unfortunately, I have to inform you that the native Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari has repeatedly raised difficulties by refusing to recognize Mr. Heepe as an authority. So far, I was able to make him listen to reason, but his grave misconduct of the last week obliges me to make a report. Delayed by the question of a stranger while he was on the way to the class on 21st of this month, Mr. Heepe asked Mtoro, who always took part in the classes, to wait for a moment. This did not happen, and, when Mr. Heepe entered the classroom, Mtoro was seated on his chair und refused to make way. When Mr. Heepe asked him whether he did not know his manners, Mtoro posed the same question to Mr. Heepe. Hence Mr. Heepe left together with the students and held the class in another lecture-room. Mr. Heepe informed me about this on the 22nd, and I called Mtoro to account on the 24th. He has admitted the above-mentioned facts but tried to defend himself by putting forward various complaints about Mr. Heepe whom he reproaches with having treated him badly. Knowing Mtoro, as I do, it is simply a question of haughtiness, not wanting to obey a younger man. He would not render any kind of courtesy to the gentlemen [*Herren*] working at the Colonial Institute, and, as far as I know, he does not greet anybody apart from me, neither in the building nor on the street. Since the 21st of this month, Mtoro has neglected the morning class, and he only appeared again on the 25th after I had brought him face to face with his misdemeanour. He did not apologize to Mr. Heepe. Under these circumstances, I consider it essential to make clear to him the effects of his behaviour and its consequences. It is not acceptable that he is obedient and deferential only to me personally, and I humbly request to officially notify him that he is required to obey Mr. Heepe and Mr. Klingeneben, that he has to offer the usual courtesy to the other gentleman who work here, and that he faces dismissal if he permits himself to indulge in such naughtiness [*sic*] again and arbitrarily neglects his duty.

Having been provoked, Carl Meinhof clearly expressed his views regarding the appropriate norms governing the relationship between "black" and "white", and his choice of words underlines the subordination demanded of a "native" in relation to the "gentlemen working at the Colonial Institute".

⁵ After defending his Ph.D. dissertation about the Swahili dialects of the Comorian islands M. Heepe (1887-1961) travelled to East Africa for the first time in 1914, cf. his personal file (StA HH 361-6, IV 1587).

⁶ C. Meinhof to M.E. Förster, Hamburg 27 November 1913 (StA HH 361-6, V 156, 11). This quotation refers to August Klingeneben (1886-1967), a professor of African languages in Leipzig and Hamburg between 1936 and 1954, who did not fully support the chauvinistic and racist theories that prevailed in Germany during the time of his career.

He effectively excluded Mtoro Bakari from the academic realm, obliging him to serve as an assistant in the class of a young German, who was gathering his first teaching experience. If Mtoro Bakari only abandoned the morning classes, i.e. the class of Martin Heepe, Carl Meinhof implies that he continued to hold his own “exercises” scheduled from 6 to 8 o’clock in the evening from Mondays to Thursdays and from 2 to 4 o’clock on Fridays in the winter semester of 1913/14. This indicates that the willingness of Mtoro Bakari to work as a lecturer was not yet broken.

Presuming that Mtoro Bakari, as a typical African, perceived his status in terms of age difference, Carl Meinhof portrayed the disagreement as haughtiness. He certainly had their own favourable relationship in mind, which was, however, based on his sense of courtesy rather than the plain fact that he was about twelve years older. Interestingly, Mtoro Bakari maintained a positive relationship with Carl Heinrich Becker who was about seven years younger than himself and who, like Martin Heepe at that time, had never been to East Africa. Typical of his times, not only did Carl Meinhof turn a deaf ear to Mtoro Bakari’s “complaints” but also ignored the possibility that his “refusal” to cooperate was based on a non-racist or universal understanding of fairness which was impossible to reconcile with the fact that he had been put under the command of a less experienced man. It was actually left to Martin Heepe to put the alleged racial superiority of the Europeans into practice, as is indicated in the annual report of the HCI, including the sections on the Department of Colonial Languages which were based on Meinhof’s reports.

Despite the intercultural competence that he must have acquired through his first-hand experiences of Germany society, Mtoro Bakari hardly had any chance to get his own views across. The final wrangle seems to have been caused by the “insensitiveness” of Martin Heepe, which he tried to counter by showing disrespect in a similar way.⁷ Occupying the teacher’s seat was evidently seen as an offence not only in Germany but also in East Africa where such a provocation would not have passed unpunished.⁸ Of course, repeated demonstrations of disrespect had no chance against the systematic favouritism and the multifarious discriminations that Mtoro Bakari continually experienced at his place of work. One can imagine that he suffered some emotional consequences, the more so since he had no neutral person to turn to in order to buttress his own position. Moreover, he was expected to show special respect in order to conform to the racial order that

⁷ Reportedly M. Heepe was a difficult person, someone who “did not have the good fortune to live in harmony with his social environs” according to Elmar Ternes in his introduction to a reprint of M. Heepe (ed.), *Lautzeichen und ihre Anwendung in verschiedenen Sprachgebieten*, Hamburg, 1983, XXIII-XXV; cf. H. Stoecker, *Afrikanwissenschaften*, 77-79, 86, 105-106, 109.

⁸ See rule 10 in the quotation on page 122.

was implicitly backed by his German “colleagues”. Lacking any kind of support, he again expressed his disapproval by way of disrespect when called to see Max Eduard Förster, who depicted their encounter on 9 December 1913 as follows:⁹

As agreed with Professor Meinhof I had summoned Mtoro for 11 o'clock in the morning to take him to task on the insolence for which he had been admonished by Professor Meinhof. When he appeared at 11 o'clock I was in the building but not in my office since a discussion in the office of Professor Dibelius had delayed me. Mtoro waited for me for a few minutes and then left saying that [he thought] I may not have the time. After consulting Professor Meinhof concerning this new insolence of Mtoro, who had not awaited my return from Professor Dibelius, it seems advisable to dismiss Mtoro not later than the end of the semester. Professor Meinhof is going to discuss how to find a replacement for Mtoro with Mr. Heepe and whether Mr. Zache's boy, to whom he already offered the Swahili exercises, will suffice for the rest of the semester. At 6 o'clock in the afternoon Mtoro met me in the corridor of the lecture-building and was about to pass without greeting me. I took him to task by asking him whether he didn't want to greet me. Mtoro did not answer this question, and when I repeated it he said 'good afternoon' without taking off his hat which he was wearing on his head. So I asked him whether he didn't want to take off his hat. This made him go away without touching his hat, leaving me standing in the corridor. I contacted Professor Meinhof by phone. We both think that, at this point, Mtoro should be removed immediately. To us the most practical way seems to be to dismiss him on December 31st, suspending him with immediate effect for the rest of the month.

Mtoro Bakari's reactions clearly indicate that he had reached a stage of frustration in which he was no longer willing to make further compromises, even though he knew well enough that it would be difficult for him to find adequate employment elsewhere. As a “language assistant” it was easy to dismiss him immediately, and he did not object to that decision, and did not even claim insurance premiums that should have been paid back to him.¹⁰ Nevertheless, he still identified himself as “lecturer” in the directories of the following years, thereby insisting on the status he had already obtained.¹¹ Obviously, Mtoro Bakari had come to realize that the conflict was not limited to the level of personal relations and was all too aware of the preference given to the young German scholars. He was probably unaware of the details concerning the salary rises granted them.¹² In the course of time, the stark contrast between his career and theirs became even clearer: Martin Heepe and

⁹ M.E. Förster to Senator Werner von Melle, Hamburg 9 December 1913 (StA HH 361-6, V 156, 13).

¹⁰ Cf. the note of 31 January 1915 in his personal file (StA HH 361-6, V 156, 22).

¹¹ Cf. the directories of Berlin for the years 1915 up to 1928.

¹² From October 1910 on, Martin Heepe earned 200 marks per month as a research assistant. His salary rose to 250 marks in October 1912, to 300 marks in January 1913, and again in 1914, 1915 and 1916. Personal file of M. Heepe (StA HH 361-6, IV 1587).

August Klinghenben eventually obtained professorships for African languages in Berlin and Hamburg respectively.

As his behaviour was simply branded as a lack of due respect, his cooperation with his superior came to an end and with it the patronizing manner in which he had been treated by him. In December 1913, Carl Meinhof implied what he really thought about Mtoro Bakari when he wrote that he “never had a language assistant of the same intellectual and moral quality” as Karl Atangana, who had taken his African wife to Hamburg and had returned to Cameroon.¹³ In the summer semester of 1914, the absence of Mtoro Bakari affected the teaching of Swahili. Martin Heepe gave the grammar course, leaving at the end of May in order to do linguistic research in East Africa; meanwhile Abdallah bin Wazir began to work as a tutor during this semester. Thus, it was left to Carl Meinhof to offer Swahili “exercises”. In an obvious attempt to acquaint his students with the situation in East Africa, he asked them to stage a trial (*shauri*). One of them, Max Heinzmann, obviously played the role of a colonial subject and reported that he would not have been sentenced to 25 lashes – a punishment in reality never applied to Europeans – if he had been able to defend himself in a better way.¹⁴ It seems that Carl Meinhof never considered or mentioned Mtoro Bakari again. In 1920/21 he employed Juma bin Abdallah¹⁵ who assisted him in translating Zaramo texts¹⁶ and later taught Swahili. In 1924 he chose Hamisi bin Farhani to help him prepare a critical edition of different manuscripts of the famous Swahili epic of Fumo Liyongo.¹⁷

While dissociating himself from German academia, Mtoro Bakari hardly had any opportunity to communicate his negative experiences regarding the increasing racism in Germany. Up until the First World War it was possible for non-European immigrants to hold very critical views individually but extremely difficult to find public support. Moreover, the solidarity between

¹³ C. Meinhof to the District Commissioner of Yaunde, Kirchhoff, Hamburg 5 December 1913 (cf. the department file of Karl Atangana: StA HH 364-13, Afrikanistik, 185, 43).

¹⁴ M. Heinzmann to P.O. Hennig, Hamburg 25 June 1914 (UHB MD 813: personal file of M. Heinzmann, n.p.).

¹⁵ When Meinhof met him in 1902 and 1918 he worked for a Protestant mission. From 1933 to 1937, and again in 1948/49 and 1951, he was employed as “language assistant” in Hamburg, from 1941 to 1943 as Swahili tutor at the university in Berlin. H. Meyer-Bahlburg & E. Wolff, *Afrikanistische Sprachen in Forschung und Lehre*, 90-91; L. Gerhardt, ‘Afrikanistische Forschung’, 442; H. Stoecker, *Afrikanwissenschaften*, 101. Possibly, he is the same person as “Njuma bin Abdulla” who arrived in Hamburg on a German steamer on 16 January 1916, according to a letter of the police authority dated Hamburg 15 May 1920 (StA HH 132-1 I, 3795, 28).

¹⁶ Cf. C. Meinhof, ‘Dzalamo-Texte’, *ZfES*, 11/3 (1920), 278-295. This is an addendum to an article of C. Meinhof published in 1907 (‘Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika: XII. Dzalamo’). Living in Berlin at this time it is possible that Mtoro Bakari served him as an informant.

¹⁷ Cf. C. Meinhof, ‘Das Lied von Liyongo’, *ZfES*, 15/4 (1925), 241-265.

them was limited; they did not live close to each other and many of them lived without a reliable income. Their experiences were partially defined by the racial stereotypes ascribed to them, and their resistance was largely confined to specific concerns. Given the bias of the German press and the means of communication of the time, it was not easy to obtain a fair picture of the situation in the colonies, and even more difficult to support any kind of resistance in Germany. There is no indication that Mtoro Bakari maintained useful connections in East Africa. It appears that the information he received – for instance those about the colonial atrocities of Maji Maji War and its devastating consequences – did not lead to any radical change in his political views, since he was still asking the Imperial Colonial Office for assistance in 1907 and continued to prepare German students for their colonial work in East Africa.

There is no evidence that Mtoro Bakari made contact with any non-Europeans in order to voice his criticism, and he certainly would have not found many suitable East Africans in this respect.¹⁸ It is not known whether he ever met Sayyida Salme (alias Emilie Ruete), the daughter of Sultan Sayyid Said who married a merchant from Hamburg in 1867 and lived in Germany (in Jena) between 1914 and 1924. In her *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess* she described social conditions in Zanzibar and tried to defend them against prevailing prejudices in Germany.¹⁹ On the other hand, there were quite a number of West Africans in Germany, in particular male immigrants from another German colony, Cameroon. They were not only among the first Africans to marry German women²⁰ but also took political initiatives. Unusually, a Douala delegation came to Berlin in 1902 to present a letter of complaint to parliament concerning colonial abuses of power in Cameroon. Seeing Africans voicing their protest to the German public was too much for the colonial administration, and it renewed its endeavours to repatriate colonial subjects from that time on.

Mtoro Bakari must have made the acquaintance of at least one

¹⁸ For African contemporaries in Hamburg see H. Möhle, S. Heyn & S. Lewerenz (eds.), *Zwischen Völkerschau und Kolonialinstitut: AfrikanerInnen im kolonialen Hamburg*, Hamburg, 2006; Verena Westermann, 'Eine fast vergessene Einwanderung: Afrikaner in Hamburg 1884-1945', in H. Möhle (ed.), *Branntwein, Bibeln und Bananen*, Hamburg, 1999, 87-92.

¹⁹ The original German edition of the *Memoirs* appeared in 1886, the first English translation 2 years later. Heinz Schnepfen, *Sayyida Salme / Emily Ruete between Zanzibar and Germany, between Islam and Christianity*, Dar es Salaam, 1999; Emilie Ruete, *An Arabian princess between two worlds: Memoirs, letters home, sequels to the memoirs, Syrian customs and usages*, Leiden, 1993. Salme was buried in Hamburg in 1924, and, on 8 July 2007, a stone was placed in her memory at the Women's Garden in the Ohlsdorf cemetery.

²⁰ For the marriages of Cameroonians see the relevant file of the Imperial Colonial Office which dates back to 1902 (BArch R1001/5426; cf. R1001/4457/5, R1001/4457/6). Attempts of curbing the immigration of colonial subjects commenced in 1899 (cf. R1001/7562).

Cameroonian, Peter Makembe, who was apparently saved from deportation in 1911²¹ because he had begun to work as a “language assistant” at the Department of Colonial Languages and to assist Carl Meinhof in preparing a Douala textbook.²² It is not clear whether he was politically active at that time. Evidently, he was a leading member of the African Solidarity Association (*Afrikanischer Hilfsverein*) that was founded in Hamburg in 1918, and he used to import various commodities from Cameroon before he was expelled from Germany in 1928. In 1919 he signed the petition to the Weimar National Assembly which was written by Cameroonians with the intention of revealing abuses of colonial power, and calling on them to grant the same rights to colonial subjects as to German citizens.²³ Most likely, Mtoro Bakari had heard about Mpundu Akwa, the son of a Cameroonian “king” who represented his clan in Germany, and who was accused of authoring the petition of 1902. He was expelled from Hamburg and lived mainly in Altona, a town a few kilometres west of the city centre.²⁴ In 1905 he won a case when charged with fraud, and he also brought successful libel suits against German citizens. Bearing the title of “Prince” made it easier for him to attain higher status and even to establish contact with aristocratic circles. He returned to Cameroon in 1911 and was apparently shot for subversion in 1914.²⁵ While both Mpundu Akwa and Mtoro Bakari came to know Germans of very different social extraction, they themselves might never have come together.

²¹ A letter dated 18 November 1911, which was apparently written by the head of the administration for higher education (*Oberschulbehörde*), mentions that an expulsion order had been issued against Makembe and points out that, in regard to this case, the language assistants’ names and addresses must be reported to the police from now on; cf. the letter of 11 November 1911 notifying C. Meinhof that he has to inform the administration for higher education about the misdemeanours committed by “language assistants” (StA HH 361-5 I, VW 121, Heft 1, 1 and 4-5).

²² He had studied at a commercial college in Berlin for 6 months and worked in Berlin for another 15 months. He was formally employed at the Department of Colonial Languages from June 1911 to March 1919, see his personal file (StA HH 361-5 I, VW 121a, Heft 1); cf. C. Meinhof, *Die Sprache der Duala in Kamerun*, Berlin, 1912, IV. Finally, he published an article: P. Makembe (ed.), ‘Duala-Texte’, *Z/ES*, 11/3 (1921), 161-181.

²³ P. Reed-Anderson, *Rewriting the footnotes*, 95, 46-51; cf. the articles of Heiko Möhle, Leroy T. Hopkins and Peter Martin in P. Martin & Ch. Alonzo (eds.), *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt*, München, 2004.

²⁴ Altona has been a part of Hamburg since 1937.

²⁵ Elisa von Joeden-Forgey (ed.), *Mpundu Akwa: The case of the Prince from Cameroon. The newly discovered speech for the defence by Dr. M. Levi*, Münster, 2002; cf. the German original edited by Leonhard Harding.

8

Back in Berlin

All colonial policies are basically about attempts to exploit a foreign people to the greatest possible extent. Wherever we look in colonial history in the last three hundred years, we find atrocities and the oppression of whole peoples, not infrequently ending with their total destruction.

*A leading representative of the German Social Democratic Party,
August Bebel, in a parliamentary speech in 1889*

Lacking a firm social footing in Hamburg, the Bakaris returned to Berlin shortly after Mtoro was dismissed in December 1913. The available sources reveal nothing about his private life and, as in Hamburg, do not contain any evidence of contacts with Africans in Berlin. According to the official registration file, the Bakaris quickly found an apartment in a new block in Neukölln, a southern suburb of Berlin, which was increasingly attracting lower and middle class immigrants at that time. In the beginning they must have lived on their savings. Presumably, Bertha contributed substantially to their income since she was able to stay in the same apartment after her husband died.¹

After the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 many people in Europe faced a difficult time. Lacking any permanent employment, Mtoro Bakari gave talks on East Africa. Apart from schools, there were not many institutions in Berlin that might have been interested in inviting him. For instance, the adult education classes (*Volkshochschulen*), which were in vogue at that time, mainly drew on academics and focussed on the canon of German and European culture. The Urania, an association contributing to the popularization of scientific knowledge, preferred German travellers or former colonial officers to cover non-European topics.² Reportedly, Mtoro Bakari travelled to different places in Germany. Since his earnings were low he presumably did not publish any advertisements about his lectures. In fact, it is

¹ This apartment, which has 2 rooms and a kitchen, still exists in the third floor of the back premises in the Lichtenrader Straße 40. The Bakaris lived there from 22 January 1914, according to Mtoro Bakari's registration file in the state archives in Berlin.

² Most of the programs of these institutions probably no longer exist. In the case of the Urania, I checked the annual reports (*Bericht der Urania*) for the years 1907/08 and 1914 to 1922.

likely that his activities largely depended on the recommendations of Protestant priests and school teachers. The only known statement made by anyone who attended his lectures is a letter which Otto Sand, a pastor in Harsleben, a small town 180 kilometres southwest of Berlin, wrote to the director of the SOL in December 1917:³

Last Friday night the Swahili Negro Mtoro Bakari gave an interesting lecture on East Africa at the local high school. On that occasion, I persuaded him to tell me his life story. It is an account full of disappointment, which brought me to make this plea on his behalf.

If I understood Bakari correctly, he was asked by the German government to come to Germany about 14 years ago, found employment as a lecturer at the School of Oriental Languages in Berlin, and subsequently moved to the Colonial Institute in Hamburg together with Pastor Meinhof, but was suddenly dismissed, if I am correct, in 1914. After that he travelled to Africa together with his wife – he has been married to a white woman from Berlinchen in the Mark for 13 years – in order to obtain a permanent position there. In his home country he had previously worked as a teacher. After letting him travel to Africa without any objection, the German government barred him from staying there and transferred him back to Germany 8 days later. Here [in Germany] he is allowed to give lectures in schools. Hence he travels from town to town and tries to secure a miserable living for himself and his wife (he does not have children) by charging low entrance fees – 10 or 15 cents!

I told Bakari that I would contact the Imperial Colonial Office, the School of Oriental Languages and the mission house, and ask them to provide a permanent position for him. I advised him to introduce himself personally to Your Excellency and to explain his wishes. For I think that if Bakari really came from East Africa to Germany at the request of the German government, it is the obligation of the German government not to simply drop him, since, at least the letter of recommendation which Pastor Meinhof issued in Hamburg and which he showed me, is a good one.

Firstly, this letter indicates that most of the German contemporaries who heard about the Bakaris' negative experiences were barely able to understand the inconsistency and ignorance of the administration. Despite widely held prejudices concerning Africa and Africans, the policy of racial segregation which colonial circles tried to institutionalize, did not gain the same acceptance in Germany as in the colonies. It appears that, under these conditions, Mtoro Bakari would not confide the full details of his life story to people with whom he was not acquainted; it seems he did not wish to drag them into a personal conflict which they had not previously heard of before. Secondly, the letter indicates that his comments on German colonial policies

³ The letter mentions the "Oriental School" (*Orientalisches Seminar*) and the "Colonial Office in Hamburg" (*Kolonialamt in Hamburg*) and of course means the SOL and the HCI. Letter of Pastor Sand, Harsleben 15 December 1917 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.123, 122-123). Harsleben is situated between Halberstadt and Quedlinburg. There is no relevant information in the personal file of Otto Sand (information kindly provided by the archives of the Protestant church in Magdeburg, Saxony).

were not extreme. It is possible that he would give a general introduction on the situation in East Africa on the basis of his own experience, revealing his own views in different ways. As for the more recent changes and the conditions in regions beyond the Bagamoyo District, however, he probably had recourse to German books and articles rather than to other channels of information. Thus, for instance, in the case of the development of the plantation economy and the working conditions of African labourers, he had to rely on second-hand information, since European plantations played a marginal role in the Bagamoyo region, especially before 1900.

That his lectures were not offensive can be inferred from the fact that he only talked about his problems in Germany after being asked about them. Moreover, he used to travel without his wife.⁴ Meeting the author of the letter for the first time, Mtoro Bakari seems neither to have talked directly about his discrimination nor to have fully explained the reasons for his dismissals in Berlin and Hamburg. While he did not object to the suggestion that the relevant authorities in Berlin be informed of his “disappointments”, there is no evidence that he himself ever contacted the director of the SOL again. There is also no indication that he ever came together with any of the “teaching assistants” from East Africa as long as he lived in Hamburg, although he came back to Berlin for a visit at least once, i.e. in 1910, when making recordings at the Berlin Phonogram Archives. After 1913, however, Mdachi bin Sharifu and Halidi bin Kirama, who stayed in Germany during the First World War, must have received some information about him or, more likely, met him personally.

Both of them came into conflict with the administration of the SOL. In particular, they increasingly resisted the attempt to keep them on low wages during the inflation that started during the war and not granting them the regular additional payments that were made to teachers who were not “black”, i.e. who were classified as lecturers or professors. From 1916 onwards they no longer lived as lodgers in the family selected for them. Since there was little work for them at the school, they were given part-time employment by the Imperial Colonial Office. In view of his difficult situation Halidi bin Kirama applied for the permission to give lectures about German East Africa at schools in Berlin in April 1918, intending to talk about “economic and family life, colonial peculiarities, flora and fauna in East Africa, customs and manners among the natives, European plantations and their relevance”. His request received a negative response, because Carl Velten commented that he appeared to be neither well-read nor experienced, and that he might “assert the most incredible things, things which cannot be

⁴ This letter does not provide any evidence for her presence in Harsleben, and the letter of May 1922 quoted on pages 104-105 mentions that he used to return to his wife in Berlin every week.

verified by elementary school teachers”.⁵

In June 1919 both Halidi bin Kirama and Mdachi bin Sharifu supported the protest of African immigrants from the German colonies by signing a 32-Point-Paper concerning conditions for “remaining German” which Cameroonian immigrants sent to the Weimar National Assembly.⁶ Besides requests such as the introduction of German civil code in the colonies and representation of the different African “races” in the German parliament, this petition maintained that: “Marriages between natives and whites are legitimate; we are willing to take our wives and children back home”. Such considerations making fundamental changes to the former colonial regime clearly expressed their intention of initiating substantial political reforms, reforms comparable to those discussed at the four Pan-African congresses in Paris and London which took place between 1919 and 1927 without the participation of Africans living in Germany. The petition can also be understood as an attempt to stop the transfer of the German colonies to other European powers, a move which was to weaken the position of the African immigrants in Germany and to reduce their chances of finding employment or support after returning to the colonies. It is not known why Mtoro Bakari did not sign the 32-Point-Paper. It appears, however, that he was not in regular contact with the Swahili tutors, and he might also have been hesitant to join any public protest in order to avoid any problems with regard to the talks he used to give.

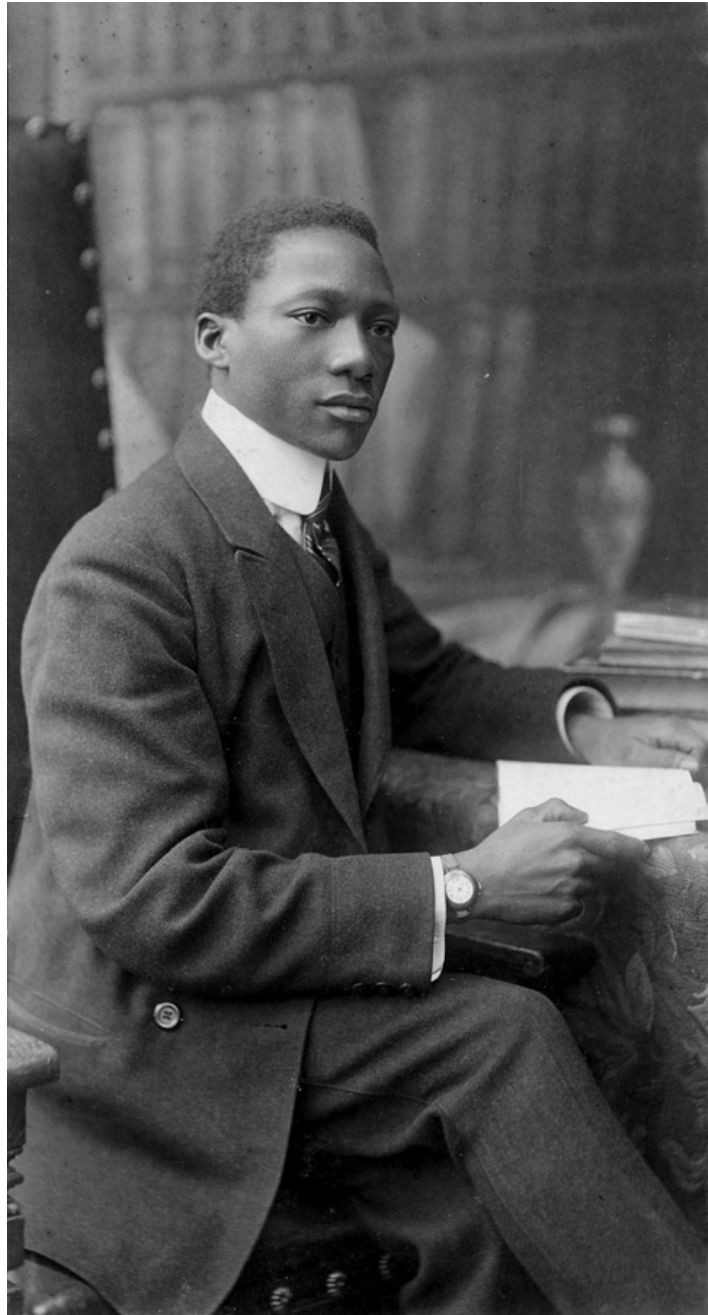
In contrast, Mdachi bin Sharifu, a former government school teacher, made his critical views known. This was made possible by his contacts with the left-wing and pacifist movements that emerged after the war. From August 1919 onwards, in the climate of political contention that continued after the transition from constitutional monarchy to parliamentary democracy in Germany, he appeared as a speaker in a series of public discussions initiated by the New Fatherland Union. This association of distinguished personalities was formed shortly after the beginning of the First World War as a reaction to prohibitions concerning the German Peace Society.⁷ The first of these public discussions apparently took place in Cottbus situated some 100 kilometres southeast of Berlin. Mdachi bin Sharifu’s fellow speakers were

⁵ Transcripts of Halidi bin Kirama’s letter dated 15 April 1918, the comment of Carl Velten, and the negative response of 18 May 1918 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.123, 137-138).

⁶ The paper was written by Martin Dibobe and is dated 27 June 1919, i.e. one day before the Treaty of Versailles was signed. See the German original in Adolf Rüger, ‘Imperialismus, Sozialreformismus und antikoloniale demokratische Alternative: Zielvorstellungen von Afrikanern in Deutschland im Jahre 1919’, *ZfG*, 23/11 (1975), 1293-1308; and the English translation in P. Reed-Anderson, *Rewriting the footnotes*, 46-51, cf. 94, 98.

⁷ The German Peace Society (*Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft*) had been founded in 1892, the New Fatherland Union (*Bund Neues Vaterland*) in autumn 1914, cf. H.v. Gerlach, *Die große Zeit der Lüge*, Charlottenburg, 1926, 93-95.

two advocates of reconciliation and international understanding: Hellmut von Gerlach, one of the founders of the German Peace Society, who exposed the unfairness of colonial law in Cameroon by comparing it with the situation in Nigeria, and Hans Paasche who, having taken an active part in the Maji Maji War as a member of the marine forces, adopted a critical stance towards



8.1

Photo taken between 1911 and 1916, presumably showing one of the Swahili lecturers who lived in Berlin during that time

German militarism and colonialism.⁸ An organ of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) pointed out that this meeting was the first time that “a member of the African race was able to express his complaints in Germany” and recorded Mdachi bin Sharifu’s contribution as follows:⁹

In a surprisingly good lecture he informed his large audience about the treatment of natives in German East Africa by colonial officers and white colonists. His account of the cruelty of corporal punishment and the shackling of prisoners, which are only applied to Africans (never to Europeans) who are sentenced without legal protection, was a moving portrayal of the German government’s inability to colonize. With a monthly wage of 12 marks, the working day of the Negro amounts to not less than 11 hours in African daytime temperatures. If the exhausted make a move to rest the overseer’s whip, made of hippo hide, hits their backs. Because of the unfavourable payment, the Negro workers, who are enticed by recruiters to come from faraway districts for jobs in the coastal area, run into debt and are not allowed to return to their native place until they have worked it off. Often chronically ill, the Negroes move back to their villages which are depopulated as a result of the rigorous recruitment efforts.

This lecture caused indignation about the colonial practices in a large part of the audience but also met with the anger of some listeners, who felt called upon to defend Germany’s national honour. What apparently provoked them was the fact that an African skilfully took on the colonial regime. Though it seems that Mdachi Sharifu had devotedly worked for the colonial administration of Songea District between 1907 and 1912, he did not refer to his own experiences made in a region that suffered badly in the aftermath of the Maji Maji War.¹⁰ Though they were radical, the above-quoted arguments (overexploitation and population decline) were already known from discourses on the economic efficiency of colonial exploitation which had gained a hearing following the devastating wars in German Southwest and German East Africa. While the statements of the three speakers were not clearly directed at putting an end to colonialism as such, they however served to legitimize the transfer of the German colonies to other European powers

⁸ H.v. Gerlach, *Von rechts nach links*, Zürich, 1937, 200-232; cf. H. Paasche, *Meine Mitschuld am Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1919; H. Paasche (1919), *Das verlorene Afrika*, Berlin, 1919. Hans Paasche was killed by volunteer corps in 1922, cf. his biography: Werner Lange, *Hans Paasches Forschungsreise ins innerste Deutschland*, Bremen, 1995.

⁹ ‘Von Deutschlands Kolonialpolitik’, *Freier Volkswill: Organ der Unabhängigen Sozialdemokratie*, 1/18 (21 August 1919), title page. This paper was published in Cottbus. Margarete Winkler, who had lived in Tanga for 7 years and was distressed by the statements of Mdachi bin Sharifu, send a copy to the Imperial Colonial Office, cf. her letter, Spremberg 22 August 1919 (BArch R1001/769, 64-65).

¹⁰ He may well be identical to “Mdachi Sharifu” who had occasionally sent reports from Songea District from March 1907 to January 1912, cf. *Kiongozi*, 3/26 (July 1907) up to 8/84 (May 1912). The teacher “Mdachi Juma”, who is obviously identical to “Mdachi Sharifu”, reported that he arrived on 13 March 1907, cf. *Kiongozi*, 3/25 (June 1907).

as laid down in the Treaty of Versailles, signed a few weeks earlier and ratified by the League of Nations in January 1920. Thereafter, supporters of German colonialism strongly criticized the idea that the brutality of the German colonial regimes had proved that Germany lacked the ability to govern colonies reasonably, an argument that implied that the other colonial powers were treating their subjects in fair and beneficial ways.

Since the discussion attracted a large audience, Mdachi bin Sharifu was invited to participate in meetings at other places. At further talks in Berlin in September 1919, he appeared with two social democratic co-speakers, as well as with Hans Paasche on the second occasion. At these talks, Mdachi bin Sharifu reportedly characterized the Maji Maji War as a desperate fight against German militarism and imperialism. Moreover, he addressed the discrimination he experienced at the SOL, criticizing the insufficient payment of “teaching assistants” and recounting the story of Mtoro Bakari, including his unsuccessful attempt to return to German East Africa with his wife. In an exchange of letters, which was published in a local newspaper, the two social democratic co-speakers insisted on referring to Mdachi bin Sharifu as “Herr” in line with the prevailing norms of respect. However, they implicitly accepted the derisive comments of some listeners regarding his criticism inasmuch as they made clear that this respect was not to be understood as a general condemnation of the colonial administration in German East Africa.¹¹

On one occasion, Mdachi bin Sharifu reportedly read a paper, which may have been partly written or edited by others, maintaining that an “imperialistic spirit” prevailed at the SOL and that even well-known scholars suffered from a “home-grown tropical frenzy”. In particular, he criticized the fact that the Swahili tutors were temporarily made to work as servants and that his own salary had been reduced because of a public talk he had given together with Hans Paasche in the centre of Berlin, apparently at the end of August. A journalist who used to give courses on the economic relations of Germany to the colonies and the world economy during the war, Dr. Otto Jöhlinger, published an article in which he challenged these statements and emphasized that the school was nothing but a “purely scientific institution”. According to him, the claims of the “Swahili Negro”, who had refused to come and discuss these problems at the SOL, were baseless.¹² As a consequence of this

¹¹ The discussions took place on 4 and 19 September, cf. the letters of the listeners “H.P.” and K. Müller-Williger and the rejoinders of the co-speakers Dr. Arnold Kalisch and T. von Eckenbrecher, in *Groß-Lichterfelder Lokal-Anzeiger*, vol. 26, nos. 204 (6 September 1919), 215 (17 September 1919), 216 (18 September 1919), 221 (24 September 1919), 222 (25 September 1919), 227 (1 October 1919), 235 (10 October 1919). In his letter of 20 September (published in no. 221) T. von Eckenbrecher mentioned that Mdachi bin Sharifu was travelling to give additional lectures elsewhere.

¹² O. Jöhlinger, ‘Suaheli als Kronzeuge’, *DAZ*, 58/474 (29 September 1919). Mdachi bin Sharifu seems to have given the first public talk in Berlin at the “the manor-house”, i.e. most

incident, the SOL did not renew the contracts of the two Swahili “teaching assistants”.

In response to Jöhlinger’s article, Mdachi bin Sharifu pointed out that he was of course ready to be questioned by his superiors but, “because of their way of treating people like me as German Africans, not as free men, I am only able to agree to such a conversation on the condition that the gentlemen respect my human dignity”.¹³ After writing this letter in October 1919 he brought the SOL to court for not granting the “teaching assistants” the same cost-of-living bonuses that had been paid the foreign “lecturers” as a consequence of inflation.¹⁴ For a while, Mdachi bin Sharifu tried to earn money as an exotic actor in the film industry. In February 1920 he applied for unemployment benefit, which was possibly not granted because he was not a German citizen, or because the SOL had paid out his “gratification” shortly before.¹⁵ Two months later he went to Rotterdam (Netherlands) on his way to German East Africa but had to return to Berlin because the German consul was unable to get a third-class ticket for East Africa for him, and because the Imperial Colonial Office deemed it impossible to cover the second-class fare “because of its high price”.¹⁶ Mdachi bin Sharifu also sued the fiscal administration for not covering the expenses of his return trip in accordance with the work contract. When the colonial administration did so and added some 2000 marks in order to terminate his political activities, he left Germany in October 1920.¹⁷

One year later he wrote a letter to the new director of the SOL, Eugen Mittwoch, who had presumably supported him before. Mdachi bin Sharifu congratulated him on the appointment and also expressed indignation about the injustices that had been meted out to him by the SOL and the Imperial Colonial Office. His favourite phrase, which was reported to be “Big men [*große Herren*] remain big men even if they address a Negro with ‘Sie’”, indicates how he perceived his position within authoritarian German society

likely the Prussian manor-house (*Preußisches Herrenhaus*) situated in Leipziger Straße 3-4.

¹³ Quoted from the letter in which he asked the editors of the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* to publish a “correction”. It seems that he himself underlined the word “German”. Mdachi bin Sharifu, Berlin 3 October 1919 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.124, 22).

¹⁴ For more details see H. Stoecker, *Afrikanwissenschaften*, 47-61.

¹⁵ The “gratifications” of Mdachi bin Sharifu and Halidi bin Kirama (3600 marks in total), which had been converted into war loans, were paid out on 15 December 1919. The Imperial Colonial Office still paid them 100 marks per month at that time (cf. GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.124, 26-32, 36).

¹⁶ GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.124, 57.

¹⁷ After one advocate unsuccessfully interceded because of “discrimination against other coloured lectures” in December 1919, another filed the suit of 5 May 1920 which was rejected on 6 December 1920, cf. the related documents in BArch R1001/9371, R1001/9386; GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.124.

that was striving to acquire a liberal face after the First World War.¹⁸

Mdachi bin Sharifu, who identified himself as a “democrat” without developing a radical anti-colonial approach, openly spoke out against the colonial regime in East Africa and related discriminatory practices in Germany. Since the political views of African immigrants are scarcely documented, it is no surprise that there are no corresponding sources in the case of Halidi bin Kirama, who experienced the same forms of discrimination. Apparently looking for other jobs, he stayed in Germany for an unknown period of time. When he was in Hamburg in October 1919 he may have actually looked for a job in an exotic show or the zoo, since he sent a telegram from that part of Hamburg where such an employer, Hagenbeck, was located. The telegram confirmed that he had already “received the tickets”.¹⁹ Conceivably, he later worked for, or was in contact with, the colonial administration in Tanganyika because he contributed a short biography of Abdallah bin Hemedi, who had authored a well-known history of the Kilindi dynasty in Usambara²⁰ and had provided information on the Shambaa and Zigua people for a large collection of “native law” in the German colonies around 1900.²¹

The available evidence suggests that Mtoro Bakari did not participate in agitation against the reactionary forces which were regaining influence in Germany around 1920. With no discernible political commitment, one is entitled to ask whether he saw the ongoing political changes in a positive

¹⁸ Mdachi bin Sharifu to Prof. Dr. Eugen Mittwoch, Amani 7 September 1921 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.124, 93-94); see the extract of the German original and the English translation in P. Reed-Anderson, *Rewriting the footnotes*, 50-53; quotation from a letter dated 19 November 1921 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Vc Sect.2, Tit.XXIII, Lit.G Nr.6b, Adhib., 95). – E. Mittwoch was a Jew. For that reason he was explicitly not considered to succeed C.H. Becker who had left Hamburg early in 1914. G. Müller, *Weltpolitische Bildung*, 102. He was acting director of the SOL from 1920 until the beginning of the Nazi regime in 1933 and left Germany in 1938, cf. H. Stoecker, *Afrikanwissenschaften*, 239.

¹⁹ Telegram to the SOL, Stellingen 1 October 1919: “karten erhalten leider auf reisen” (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.124, 20).

²⁰ “Khalidi Kirama” wrote the biography of Abdallah bin Hemedi, who had died in 1912, sometime after the introduction of a new currency in 1923 which is mentioned in the text. His manuscript, now deposited in the main library of the University of Dar es Salaam, was firstly published in Swahili (*Habari za Wakilindi*, 1962) and then in English (1963): Abdallah bin Hemedi 'IAjemy, *The Kilindi*, ed. by J.W.T. Allen & W. Kimweri, Nairobi, 9-11; cf. Katrin Bromber & Jürgen Becher, ‘Abdallah bin Hemedi: Ein Vertreter der administrativen Elite im Transformationsprozeß zwischen Busaidi-Herrschaft und deutscher Kolonialadministration’, in A. Wirz, A. Eckert & K. Bromber (eds.), *Alles unter Kontrolle*, Köln, 2003, 54-70, 233-236.

²¹ “Abdallah bin Ahmedi” was the only non-European who answered a questionnaire on customary law according to the list of informants in E. Schultz-Ewerth & L. Adam (eds.), *Das Eingeborenenrecht*, Vol. 1: *Ostafrika*, compiled by Bernhard Ankermann, Stuttgart, 1929, 1-2, cf. 98-100, 105, 154-155, 167-168, 182-183.

light. The inquiry of another Swahili tutor, Mwakinyo bin Makanyaga, about the possibility of teaching at the HCI shows that political considerations did not matter much. Intending to leave the service of the British colonial administration in Dar es Salaam he not only informed Hans Zache in 1928 that he knew “the work of a lecturer” since he had been in Berlin from 1907 to 1909, but also indicated that he still was well aware of what was expected of him by expressing his willingness to become, once again, “an assistant at the institute without causing big trouble”.²²

While the statements of Mdachi bin Sharifu and Mwakinyo bin Makanyaga might be seen as evidence for varying political dispositions, they certainly expressed the different situations, strategies and prospects of African immigrants after the First World War. In contrast to them it was not so easy for Mtoro Bakari, who could have claimed the status of a colonial subject of Tanganyika, to return to East Africa. In 1920 he was about 50 years old, had already lived in Germany for 20 years and probably did not speak any English. Therefore, he could hardly expect to find adequate employment. With his wife accompanying him, he had also to take into account that the colonial authorities might not allow her to enter the country, either for the same reasons as in 1905 or because, as a rule, her status as an “ex-enemy subject” rendered immigration to Tanganyika impossible until 1925.²³ According to German law of the time, Bertha Bakari had adopted the nationality of her husband upon marriage, but this was not clearly defined for he was neither a German citizen nor the subject of an independent state. Mtoro Bakari must have been classified as “stateless” in the 1920s. The fact that he applied for a certificate showing that he was a German subject, as we shall see below, indicates that he did not have a German passport. British colonial authorities would have certainly regarded him as a “native” of Tanganyika and then run into problems in trying to classify the nationality of his wife. Under these circumstances it is understandable that the Bakaris saw no better alternative than to find a way of making a living in Germany.²⁴

²² “Kwani kazi ya Lektor naijua nimekuwa zamani Berlin toka April 1907 hata Marz 1909 pamoja na Saleh bin Omar na kwa ajili hii iwapo nimekubaliwa natumai nitakuwa msaadi katika Institut bila ya masumbufu makubwa.” Mwakinyo bin Makanyaga to Hans Zache, Dar es Salaam 9 July 1928 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.7, 235).

²³ German nationals had to leave Tanganyika after the war, and they were only allowed to enter the colony under licence from the Governor until the Enemies Restriction Ordinance, 1922 (No.25 of 1922) expired on 4 June 1925.

²⁴ I think it highly unlikely that Mtoro Bakari visited his place of birth together with his son sometime after the First World War, as claimed by man born in 1940 whom the local administrator (*mwenyekiti*) presented as a relative of Mtoro Bakari on my second visit to Miswe, from where the area of Dunda is administered today. Despite the official letter I submitted, I was not allowed to go around and search for relatives of Mtoro Bakari myself.

Reduced and forgotten

On 27 October 1927, the School of Oriental Languages had existed for 40 years. The development of discipline continues vigorously, but the development of the teaching personnel leaves much to be desired. I think you understood me.

The secretary of the SOL, Wilhelm Hildebrandt, in a letter sent to Carl Meinhof in Hamburg on 31 October 1927, alluding to the marriage of Mtoro Bakari and the consequences of Carl Meinhof's decision to leave Berlin

Observing how society changed over many years and responding to the varying reactions of the audiences he lectured to, Mtoro Bakari did not apparently anticipate any advantages from engaging in political activity. One reason for the fact that he did not change his approach is the surge of racism which he faced after the defeat of Germany. Agitation in the press against the terms imposed by the victors exploited and reinforced the feelings of having been humiliated, in particular between 1920 and 1923, when false allegations were being launched against members of the West African contingents of the French Army stationed in southwestern Germany, accusing them of raping German women. These protests even expanded into the English press where they came to be known as “The black horror on the Rhine”, i.e. the title of a booklet published in 1920 and reprinted during the following years. Ironically, it was authored by Edmund Dené Morel, who had been one of the leading figures in the successful campaign against the brutality of the colonial regime in the Congo under the Belgian king.¹

One of the earliest attacks on the “black horror” campaign occurred in the sessions of the German National Assembly in May 1920, when Luise Zietz, member of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD),

¹ For the influence of the “black horror” (*Schwarze Schmach*) campaign in Germany see Christian Koller, *‘Von Wilden aller Rassen niedergemetzelt’: Die Diskussion um die Verwendung von Kolonialtruppen in Europa zwischen Rassismus, Kolonial- und Militärpolitik (1914-1930)*, Stuttgart, 2001, 285ff.; Eberhardt Kettlitz, *Afrikanische Soldaten aus deutscher Sicht seit 1871: Stereotype, Vorurteile, Feindbilder und Rassismus*, Frankfurt, 2007, 96-100; Tina Campt, Pascal Grosse & Yara-Colette Lemke-Muniz de Faria, ‘Blacks, Germans, and the Politics of Imperial Imagination, 1920-60’, in S. Friedrichsmeyer, S. Lennox & S. Zantop (eds.), *The Imperialist Imagination*, Ann Arbor, 1998, 208-214.

denounced colonial crimes and argued that the campaign was not only hypocritical but also led to the spread of racial hatred.² Writing a newspaper article on behalf of the African Solidarity Association one year later, Louis Brody from Cameroon mentioned that an African had been attacked after being wrongly identified as a member of the French Army. In his eyes, this incident was related to the negative newspaper reports which caused Germans to regard “Blacks” as a “savage and wild race”. Therefore, he pointed out that “natives of the former German colonies” had served as soldiers and that, after the defeat of Germany, African immigrants were suffering, too, since it was not easy for them to return to “the occupied colonies” where they “are being treated politically as Germans”.³

Mtoro Bakari documented his experience with the nationalistic upsurge in Germany in the letter he sent to the German government in May 1922. Being mainly an application for the official backing of his lectures, it also appears to have been a well-timed attempt at probing the renewed possibility of working as a lecturer at the SOL where Eduard Sachau had vacated the position of director in 1920 and Carl Velten had resigned in 1921. Evidently, Mtoro Bakari preferred to keep a distance from the authorities in various ways. Judging from the handwriting, he had asked another person to write the letter for him. This fact can also be deduced from the use of formally correct German and the reference to himself in the third person – signalling a lower social status in relation to prospective readers. In particular, he tried to court their favour by changing some of his personal particulars:⁴

To the Distinguished Government of the German Reich, Berlin. Petition of the language lecturer at the School of Oriental Languages Mtoro bin Bakari for protection and support in obtaining subsistence.

The undersigned, your humble servant, Mtoro bin Bakari, has lived in Germany since 1901 and was, as his documents show, employed by the former German government to teach Swahili to people travelling to East Africa. Thus he had a dependable income. But when the war began and Germany unfortunately lost its colonies, the undersigned was among those dismissed, as this service was no longer needed. Though the undersigned would have wished to do this service to the German nation, he was now without sustenance and his misfortune of having no roots began. When he travelled back home to German East Africa together with his wife, a German from Berlin, he was offered the position of mayor, but the former government called him back before the end of his

² E. Kettlitz, *Afrikanische Soldaten*, 97, 99.

³ Louis Brody's article (published in the *Berliner Zeitung* of 24 May 1921) as quoted in Susann Lewerenz, *Die Deutsche Afrika-Schau (1935-1940): Rassismus, Kolonialrevisionismus und postkoloniale Auseinandersetzungen im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland*, Frankfurt/Main, 2006, 47.

⁴ Dated May 1922 (BArch R1001/5422, 57-58). The one who physically wrote the letter left a small space in which Mtoro Bakari did not fill in the exact date. The letter mentions “Oriental School” (*Orientalisches Seminar*) which is a short for SOL. In this quotation “nation” is the translation for the German word “Volk” which also means “people”.

vacation. At present it is impossible for him to pay the boat-trip to Africa for himself and his wife out of his own pocket. He is willing to continue to serve the beloved German nation if protection and employment is granted to him. Dismissed without any subsidy, the undersigned tried to secure subsistence for himself and his wife by giving lectures about his home country, East Africa. Given the reactions to lectures and the judgements of the teachers, he is convinced that his efforts were helpful to the German nation in regard to learning. However, in some places he suffered a lot of unfairness due to suspicion and lack of recognition – being mistaken for a member of the French army of occupation from the Rhineland. Having been turned away everywhere, he was even forced out of an inn at one o'clock at night, certainly only because of a lack of recognition. Since all attempts at state employment were to no avail, and in order to secure his necessary sustenance in the aforesaid way, the undersigned, your humble servant, trustingly turns to the Distinguished Government of the German Reich and dutifully submits the following request: The Distinguished Government of the German Reich may be so kind as to issue to the undersigned a protecting certificate – or however such a document is to be called – which ensures that the local authorities support him, providing safe and undisturbed lodgings.

In addition, he ventures to take the liberty of humbly requesting whether it might be feasible to facilitate the journeys which are necessary for his livelihood, by granting him at least a reduction of the fares by way of an identity card – or whatever it may be – because, apart from his expensive way of living and his travel from place to place, the weekly train journeys to his wife in Berlin, consume a substantial part of his earnings. As a consequence of his plight, which is not to be envied, he adds the equally humble request not to leave him in ignorance of the course of action and success of his petition and to either inform him or return it in case it did not reach the relevant office.

In trustful submission to the magnanimity of the Distinguished Government of the German Reich signed with affectionate gratefulness and high esteem – Mtoro Bakari, Neukölln, Lichtenraderstr. 40.

This letter reached the Foreign Office. They turned firstly to the Prussian Ministry of Education to obtain information about Mtoro Bakari and then delegated the case to the Imperial Ministry of Reconstruction that was responsible for settling the affairs of the Imperial Colonial Office. In this context the acting director of the SOL, Eugen Mittwoch, provided a report including some corrections of Mtoro Bakari's story.⁵ Although Mtoro Bakari's letter was also understood as an application for a job, the ministry did not take any action.⁶ As soon as the police in Berlin had reported that he earned his livelihood by "travelling around Germany and giving lectures for money" and that he held an identity card issued for that purpose by the Ministry of Education, the Imperial Ministry of Reconstruction declined the application for an additional document, thus closing the file of their former colonial subject.⁷

⁵ E. Mittwoch to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 31 July 1922 (BArch. Berlin, R 1001/5422, 61).

⁶ Cf. GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va. Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124 Adhib.A, Bd.16, 252.

⁷ Cf. the letter forwarding information from the aliens' registration office (*Fremdenamt*) to

The veracity of his story was not a prior concern for Mtoro Bakari. There are clear inaccuracies: he came to Germany one year earlier than 1901, he did not travel to East Africa during a vacation, and he already had been dismissed before the beginning of the First World War. Moreover, it is not plausible that colonial officials offered him a permanent position in Bagamoyo, and surely not that of “mayor” (*linali*), i.e. in fact a colonial headman in charge of legal cases concerning the African population. This post was already occupied by Amour bin Nassor, who was the same age as Mtoro Bakari and resigned when the British took over the colonial administration.⁸ Despite such questionable statements, the letter cannot be dismissed completely as a tactical lie or utilitarian truth designed to test the mindset of the post-war administration. Clearly, Mtoro Bakari was anxious to shed a positive light on his relations with the German authorities, in an apparent attempt to find an open ear for his complaints. After all, his letter indirectly appealed to those responsible for taking measures against increasing racist thinking. Certainly, such behaviour must have seemed odd and rude to Mtoro Bakari, particularly inexcusable in the academic context; however, it is impossible for us to know exactly how he experienced and categorized it.

His thinking may have been close to that of Kwassi Bruce who, when he was no longer able to find employment under the Nazi regime in 1934 because of his skin colour, nevertheless gained the goodwill of the German authorities by recounting his loyalty as a soldier in Togo during the First World War. He described earlier experiences of “Africans from the German colonies” but did not wish “to revive past events again and again”. He wanted “to bridge chasms rather than to widen them”, but he also mentioned that, since the bitter experiences during the Rhine occupation, “we have never really regained emotional impartiality towards the white German population”.⁹ All in all, it seems that Mtoro Bakari overemphasized his compliance in serving the German nation and in contributing to the production and spread of knowledge – which is what the German word *Wissenschaft* (translated above as “learning”) means in its widest sense. On the other hand, there was obviously a grain of truth in this assertion since he was educating his German audiences about social conditions in East Africa. The

the Imperial Ministry of Reconstruction (*Reichsministerium für Wiederaufbau*), Berlin 13 January 1923, and the draft letter dated January 1923 (BArch R1001/5422, 65).

⁸ And he died in the early 1950s (personal communication of his first son, Salim Amour Nassor al-Amer, Pangani in October 2004).

⁹ Kwassi Bruce to the Director of the Colonial Department of the Foreign Office, August 1934 (BArch R1001/7562, 91-100), see the extracts of the letter quoted in P. Reed-Anderson, *Rewriting the footnotes*, 63-67, and the complete text in P. Martin & Ch. Alonzo (eds.), *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt*, München, 2004, 411-416. For the history of the Bruce family in Europe see Rea Brändle, *Nayo Bruce*, Zürich, 2007.

inadequacy of the income he earned from making such presentations shows that, in his eyes, this was not an unimportant concern.

Apart from that, Mtoro Bakari was certainly in a position to communicate some of his politically relevant views publicly. There is no evidence of how far he took advantage of this position in responding to the changing situation after the First World War. The letter addressed to the "Government of the German Reich" suggests that he did not conceive of a substantial advancement of democracy during the early years of the German (Weimar) republic. This may be seen as a further indication of the social and political continuities in the inter-war period. Living in Germany for more than twenty years and coming to know people of very different social backgrounds, Mtoro Bakari must have reflected on the limitations of influencing relevant political discourse. The fact that he did not take any apparent initiatives in this respect may be explained by his disillusionment concerning the adverse attitude of the German authorities and the limited support received from working class organizations or left-wing intellectuals.

Trying to avoid any confrontation, Mtoro Bakari played down his actual experiences of racial discrimination by implicitly accepting what the writer of the letter expressed on his behalf, including the nationalistic thinking directed against the African forces of occupation. This stands in sharp contrast to the offensive approach of Mdachi bin Sharifu who linked his struggle against the discrimination he faced at his work place with public criticism of the German colonial regime and insisted on not being treated as a "German African". Mdachi bin Sharifu actually aired his views in the context of rising anti-nationalist voices in 1919/20 and with the option of returning to East Africa in the near future. Not being married to a German, it was easier for him to address the experience of the Bakaris openly, whereas Mtoro Bakari thought it wise not to expose himself in that way. Certainly, the avoidance of any public participation in political discussions is understandable, given the precarious social and economic situation of the Bakaris and their perspective of living in Germany. Without the recognition of German teachers and pastors Mtoro Bakari would have lost the chance of giving talks and, with it, his main source of income.

As well as struggling with economic difficulties, Mtoro Bakari may well have faced health problems in the mid-1920s. In November 1926 he sent a letter to Carl Heinrich Becker who had worked in the Prussian Ministry of Education since 1916 and had risen to the position of minister. Mtoro Bakari informed him that he wished to discuss a "personal issue" and asked him to inform him in case it was not possible to meet at the date suggested.¹⁰ The fact that he contacted his former superior and addressed him respectfully

¹⁰ Mtoro Bakari to C.H. Becker, 2 November 1926 (GStA PK, VI.HA, Nachlass C.H. Becker, Nr.6204).

Wissenswertes Obleger
Neukölln d. 2. 11. 26.

687
XX
Ihre große Liebe Professor.

Ich bin mit herzlichem Gruß
am 8. d. M. mittags um 5. Uhr
angekommen. Sie ist ein großer
Professor ein großartiger Anwalt
sein. Stellen Sie Professor aus
findet sein zu empfangen. Ich
möchte ich herzlich ein gefälliges
Korrespondenz.

Unterschrift gegeben.

Moro Bakari

Neukölln Luftwaffenstraße

40.
الله مع الله ان الله بحب المحسنين

9.1 Letter of Mtoro Bakari to C.H. Becker dated 2 November 1926, possibly written by his wife

indicates that their relationship had not been seriously strained, neither by Becker's racially prejudiced theories nor by his dismissal in Hamburg in 1913, in which Becker was not involved. It must have been Mtoro Bakari who attached a quotation from the Quran in Arabic script to the German letter, which presumably his wife Bertha wrote for him.¹¹ With this quotation, which can be rendered as "truly, Allah loves those who do good", he honoured Carl Heinrich Becker, a Christian, by applying ethical principles revealed in the Quran, implicitly appealing to his benevolence and generosity.¹² Despite being hopeful of getting Becker's support, Mtoro Bakari did not come for the appointment – the note "did not appear" (*Nicht erschienen*) is written on top of the letter. Mtoro Bakari apparently sent no explanation as to why he "did not appear". It seems unlikely that he simply forgot and this incident may be just another reflection of the continuing inequality that characterized his relationship with his "white" colleagues who, in effect, had repudiated him.

Mtoro Bakari was about 58 years old when he died in the apartment in Berlin-Neukölln where he lived with his wife on 14 July 1927.¹³ There is no evidence of where he is buried, but it is very likely that it was in the Turkish Cemetery, which can still be found in the vicinity of the apartment until today.¹⁴ In 1903 he had participated in the burial ceremony of the Moroccan lecturer Miludi ben Mohammed Siadi Talbi at this cemetery.¹⁵ Although the talks Mtoro Bakari gave in different places must have made him known to many people, the German public took hardly any notice of his death.¹⁶ It is

¹¹ Including the signature. It seems that he tried to imitate this handwriting, cf. the signature and address from his letter of 21 December 1906 reproduced on page 50.

¹² The full sentence in the Quran (2:195) runs: "Spend your wealth for the cause of Allah, and do not cast yourselves to perdition with your own hands, and do good (to others). Truly, Allah loves those who do good."

¹³ Bertha Bakari reported his death (information held by the registry office in Neukölln).

¹⁴ In contrast to Sulaiman bin Said there is no relevant information, neither in the registers of the *Interessensgemeinschaft Historische Friedhöfe Berlin*, nor in the documentation of the Turkish Cemetery (produced by Gerdin Jonker under the direction of Gerhard Höpp before old graves had to give way to the construction of a new mosque). For this information I thank Carl-Peter Steinmann from the *Interessensgemeinschaft* and Thomas Zitelmann and Katrin Bromber from the *Centre for Modern Oriental Studies* where the documentation can be found, cf. G. Höpp, 'Islam im Berlin und Brandenburg. Steinerne Erinnerungen', in G. Höpp & N. Mattes (eds.), *Berlin für Orientalisten*, Berlin, 2001, 7-23.

¹⁵ Together with the Egyptian lecturer Hamid Waly and the Turkish-Persian lecturer Muhammed Hassan on 22 December 1903. E. Sachau to the Prussian Minister of Culture, Berlin 23 January 1904 (GStA PK, I.HA Rep.76, Va Sekt.2 Tit.X, Nr.124, Adhib.N, Bd.3, 15).

¹⁶ I did not find any obituary notice, memorial address nor any other hints in the issues of the following eight newspapers published in Berlin within 30 days after his death: *Vossische Zeitung* (Post-Ausgabe), *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, *Berliner Morgenpost*, *Der Tag*, *Vorwärts*, *Neue Tempelhofer Zeitung*, *Neuköllner Tageblatt*, and *Groß-Lichterfelder Lokal-Anzeiger*.

not clear whether anybody at the SOL or HCI were informed of his death.¹⁷ As a widow, Bertha Bakari continued to live in the same house in Berlin-Neukölln and apparently earned her own livelihood. Existing sources indicate that she did not marry again and remained childless until she died in November 1945.¹⁸

¹⁷ Cf. the quote at the beginning of this chapter quoted from a letter of W. Hildebrandt to C. Meinhof, Berlin 31 October 1927 (StA HH 364-13, Afrikanistik, 59, n.p.).

¹⁸ Her name only appeared in the Berlin directory for the year 1929; here she is identified as a widow. Her last address was Lichtenrader Straße 40 and she was buried at the *Neuer Luisenstadt Kirchhof* (Hermannstraße/Leinestraße), according to a letter to the author from the administration of this Protestant cemetery dated 7 July 2004. There is no evidence for the existence of children in the historical registration files in the state archives of Berlin and Hamburg, nor in the registry office in Neukölln.

Résumé

For most of the last century Mtoro Bakari was mainly remembered for his marriage to a German woman. In Bagamoyo a few elderly people had vague recollections of his unsuccessful attempt to return to German East Africa until the 1980s. In Germany his story seemed to be largely forgotten following his dismissal from the HCI in 1913. With the transfer of the German colonies to other European powers after the First World War, his presence in Berlin ultimately lost its political significance. Both the public interest in the former colonies and the recruitment of African tutors sharply decreased.

Mtoro Bakari was about 30 years of age when he came to Germany. Being employed as an assistant on a regular basis, he did not aspire the kind of academic career enjoyed by his German colleagues and was, apparently, not very aware of the difference in salary. He had to accept the fact that formal recognition would be conferred on others, such as Carl Velten who, besides his academic titles (doctor, professor) earned several medals, including the Brilliant Star of Zanzibar awarded him by the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1908.¹ Nevertheless, Mtoro Bakari enjoyed professional recognition and always insisted on being respected for his intellectual competence and teaching proficiency. However, when his status as an independent lecturer was challenged, he avoided any direct confrontation, a fact which probably relates to his precarious position as a colonial subject. Instead, he preferred defensive strategies, seen in his reactions both to the vilifications of his students in Berlin and later to a young German scholar's reckless display of presumed superiority. Humiliated, he felt himself forced to react. In the end, these conflicts revealed the ultimate reason for his dismissals, namely, the colonial self-centred thinking of his superiors, whose partial support for him constantly decreased.

One possible motive for his original openness to the German colonizers, with whom he was never on an equal footing, was his mixed experience of the war of 1888/89 that marked the beginning of the colonial period. He witnessed both the brutality of the colonizers and the destruction of the

¹ The third class type of this medal (cf. GStA PK, I.HA Rep.208A, Nr.117, 27). Carl Velten sent copies of his early publications to Sultan Hamoud bin Muhammad (1851-1902) whom he had met on the occasion of his accession to the throne in 1896. K. Bromber, 'Verdienste von Lehrern und Lektoren', 47; Wilhelm Langheld, *Zwanzig Jahre in deutschen Kolonien*, Berlin, 1909, 237. Many Europeans were similarly decorated by the Sultan before, cf. the illustration of the Brilliant Star (2nd class, 3rd rank) in Karl Wilhelm Schmidt, *Sansibar: Ein ostafrikanisches Kulturbild*, Leipzig, 1888, 114-115.

homes of relatives and friends by African forces. The following years were characterized by the largely unchallenged foreign domination of the East African coast and the economic exigencies of the prolonged drought that began in 1898. While in many respects Mtoro Bakari viewed the colonial regime as positive, he left the difficult economic conditions of the 1890s behind, and his income at the SOL in Berlin enabled him to lead a decent life in Germany. Working as a teacher and writer he had the chance of developing his intellectual abilities. Having enjoyed an Islamic education imbued with Swahili notions of civilization, he then acknowledged European attitudes and achievements.

In 1900 Mtoro Bakari was the last Swahili lecturer apparently chosen for being the kind of young local intellectual who had extensively studied the Quran and Arabic. This quality distinguished him from his successors who had studied or worked in government schools. On the other hand, he was the first Swahili lecturer who was actually a German colonial subject, and like his successors, he had previously worked for the colonial administration. These facts certainly influenced his political opinions. While still living in Bagamoyo, he absorbed the modernization discourses and practices, even defending colonial taxation despite negative experiences as a tax collector. We may infer that he viewed his work in Germany as a contribution to a political regime which, if widely accepted by the colonized, could be expected to offer significant advantages to its subjects.

In part, Mtoro Bakari's ideas corresponded to the colonial policies in East Africa, e.g. regarding the abolition of slavery. While he did not belong to the economic or political elite of Bagamoyo, nevertheless the reputation of his family and his position as an educated Muslim apparently made it possible for him to obtain a large loan and own a slave. In the *Desturi za Wasuaheli* he not only mentioned his slave but also appears to have written the chapter on slavery.² This chapter relates that the Sultan of Zanzibar forbade the acquisition of Zaramo slaves, depicts their escape strategies, and mentions the temporary lifting of traditional clothing restrictions by a former *jumbe* (chief) of Gongoni, a quarter of Bagamoyo. In all, the text expresses reservations about slavery but does not mention the American experience of emancipation. This indicates that the abolition discourse had a much more limited influence on non-Christian colonial subjects in East Africa than the inconsequential policy of the German colonizers, who took measures against the slave trade but did not completely abolish slavery because they were worried about economic disadvantages, disintegrative effects and loss of political control.

² C. Velten, *Desturi*, 253-265; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 305-319; J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 169-177.

During the first four years in Berlin the respect accorded him as a lecturer certainly prevailed over experiences related to growing racism. It is possible that, for many years, he made few negative experiences in this respect. He may have perceived cases of discrimination as either transitory or sporadic, in particular as a result of individual ignorance, the more so since German law stood against any differential treatment of “races”. Though rarely confronted with corresponding prejudices at his work place, he tended to be “treated” as a “native” or “Negro” behind his back. After he violated the unspoken racial norms existing among the supporters of German colonialism within and outside academia, his situation changed. Nor does it seem that Mtoro Bakari fully realized the wider political background against which the adverse reactions to his marriage were set. He reacted only to the obvious forms of discrimination and insisted on an universal understanding of fairness and respect. Despite all adversity, he apparently retained the hope of eventually being able to live in Germany as an equal and with the respect he felt was his due. However, his appeals for official intervention were unlikely to be fulfilled, given that racism essentially emanated from the very authorities he turned to until the end of the First World War. Subsequently, racism was increasingly motivated by an anxiety that, in one way or another, immigrants would contaminate German society and jeopardize the achievements of the German nation. Such anxieties were brutally exploited by the Nazi regime and continued to be an essential characteristic of racism.

Having broken his ties with persons who, because of their racist thinking, treated him unfairly Mtoro Bakari moved away from colonial circles in Berlin, left Hamburg, and, after the First World War, kept his distance from the political forces which were campaigning for the restoration of the German colonial regime. With hindsight, the question emerges as to why he was not more consistent in terminating his relations with colonial and missionary circles. In part, his behaviour can be understood against the background of his early, mixed, experiences of the colonial regime in East Africa, his positive disposition towards European ideas of modernization, and the continued appreciation of him as a capable communicator of Islamic and African culture. Conceivably, Mtoro Bakari had more negative experiences with the German authorities than we know of, before adopting the calculating attitude most clearly expressed in the above-quoted letter of May 1922. Despite the resulting frustrations, he continued to insist on ethical principles which stood in contrast to the false humanism common among colonizers and missionaries, and he remained reluctant to adopt an antagonistic stance towards those who discriminated against him because of his skin colour or religion.

It appears that Mtoro Bakari – with his upcountry origin, and aspiring to a respected position within coastal society – conceived of himself as a “Swahili” before he came into contact with the colonial regime in East Africa. There, he

identified himself neither with local patricians (*waungwana*) nor with the “Arabs”, an ethnic group which was not clearly defined by a common ancestry and tended to be distinguished by varying criteria, including religion and culture, typical economic activities or political status.³ Although Mtoro Bakari found himself widely classified as “black” in Germany, “race” largely remained an external or negative ascription for him. Normally, he must have called himself a “Swahili”, corresponding to his position as a Swahili teacher. In one case, he appended the Arabic clan name (*nisba*) “al-Shirazi” to his name, a status appellation commonly used by local patricians on the East African coast from Bagamoyo northwards, implying an (imagined) origin from Persia (Shiraz). He apparently adopted it in order to underscore his Islamic erudition and to secure recognition while working for Carl Heinrich Becker in Hamburg.⁴ Mtoro Bakari’s use of the terms “Swahili” and “al-Shirazi” shows that he did not brood over the category “colour”. Skin colour never became as important an element of his identity as his ethnic origin, his religion – or his gender or age. However, he certainly realized that “race” affected his changing social position – from being a hopeful young man in East Africa to the humiliating experience of being middle and then lower or working class in Germany.

The development of an African identity, which might have served as a basis for collective resistance, was still in its initial stages. William Du Bois had identified the “double consciousness” of Americans of African descent as early as 1903.⁵ Stimulated by the experience of the First World War and interacting with “black” cultural initiatives in the USA in the 1920s, the African diaspora in France adopted the concept of Négritude to fight French colonial racism and challenge “white” cultural and intellectual hegemony, originally envisaging the attainment of racial equality rather than political independence. The situation in Germany was different, with the number of Africans apparently not exceeding a few hundred during the 1920s. Most of them had actually arrived during the colonial period and originated from the German colonies, but could not fully consider themselves German because they were not recognized as German citizens. This diaspora had little or no

³ The definition of “Arab” identity in East Africa did not depend on the birthplace, and it neither coincided with descent nor with class. Normally, it was handed down through the male line and perpetuated by the adoption of the father’s culture. For the political context and social content of Swahili identity at the end of the nineteenth century see J. Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*, 25, 32-35, 62-63, 85-95, 117-121, 133-135, 266.

⁴ C.H. Becker, ‘Materialien’, 5 footnote 1.

⁵ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, Chicago, 1903, 3-5; cf. Eve Rosenhaft, ‘Afrikaner und “Afrikaner” im Deutschland der Weimarer Republik: Antikolonialismus und Antirassismus zwischen Doppelbewusstsein und Selbsterfindung’, in B. Kundrus (ed.), *Phantasiereiche*, Frankfurt, 2003, 282-301; Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, London, 1993.

chance to express its cultural distinctiveness and develop a collective identity during the less oppressive atmosphere under the parliamentary democracy, which ended in 1933 when the Nazi regime impeded any further development.

In the 1920s important political activities against colonialism were supported by German communists who demonstrated solidarity for the non-European workers in Europe and beyond. They influenced the *League against Colonial Oppression*, which was founded in Berlin in 1926, particular after it was renamed *League against Imperialism and for National Independence*. This change took place at the *Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism* in Brussels (Belgium) in February 1927 where neither African immigrants in Germany nor East Africans were represented.⁶ A limited number of the Africans living in Germany seem to have taken a more active role during the following years.⁷ Most of them must have been well aware of the negative implications of colonial oppression both in the colonies and beyond, but it was not easy for them to articulate their resistance, the more so since the terms ‘racism’ and ‘Eurocentrism’ did not exist at that time.

Possibly, Mtoro Bakari was among those who mainly construed such phenomena as manifestations of the contradiction between European imperialism and civilization and thus supported the criticism expressed in the quotation given at the beginning of this book.⁸ In the context of the negative experiences he made, however, he certainly did not see either himself or Africans in general, as being “weak” in the sense of inferior, but perhaps as powerless or marginalized. To all what we know, he did not share in the continental and national identities that were developing in reaction to policies and ideologies of European imperialism-colonialism. In particular, there are no indications that he might have adopted a racial perspective, nor putting forward the idea of a distinctive African civilization that was to be protected from external, especially European and Arabic, influences.⁹

⁶ Peter Martin, ‘Die “Liga gegen koloniale Unterdrückung”’, in U. van der Heyden & J. Zeller (eds.), “... *Macht und Anteil an der Weltherrschaft*”, Münster, 2005, 261-269; Liga gegen Imperialismus und für Nationale Unabhängigkeit (ed.), *Das Flammenzeichen vom Palais Egmont: Offizielles Protokoll des Kongresses gegen koloniale Unterdrückung und Imperialismus, Brüssel 10.-15. Februar 1927*, Berlin, 1927, 7, 271.

⁷ For instance, the German branch of the *League for the Defence of the Negro Race* was set up in Berlin in 1929, cf. Robbie Aitken & Eva Rosenhaft, ‘Deutsch-Kameruner in der Anti-Kolonialbewegung der zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre’, in U. van der Heyden & J. Zeller (eds.), “... *Macht und Anteil an der Weltherrschaft*”, Münster, 2005, 270-276.

⁸ The quote is from: Liga gegen Imperialismus (ed.), *Das Flammenzeichen*, 7, 271. It seems that the French original no longer exists.

⁹ For corresponding ideas of cultural and racial purity, implying negative attitudes towards sexual relations and marriages between Africans and Europeans, cf. James R. Brennan, ‘Realizing Civilization through Patrilineal Descent: The Intellectual Making of an African

The question of the allegiance of former colonial subjects to the German nation continued to influence critical political thought which emerged after the First World War. For most of them, the continuance of German colonial dominance was an option to be considered under certain conditions. By submitting reform proposals to the National Assembly in Weimar, Cameroonian immigrants expressed their loyalty to the “new social republic” but made it subject to various conditions, including the request that German civil law should be implemented throughout the colonies and that German “natives” be granted equal rights. Nevertheless, support for radical criticism of the former authoritarian society and its imperialistic policies did little to increase the very limited influence of African immigrants and their associations on political discourse in the 1920s. Perhaps it was inevitable that people such as Mdachi bin Sharifu had to leave Germany. Apparently characterizing the Maji Maji War as a case of overall resistance against a foreign regime, Mdachi bin Sharifu went beyond the criticism of the pacifist circles who invited him to speak in public; indeed his criticism anticipated the historiography of the 1960s and 70s which represented the war as a form of proto-nationalism.¹⁰ In contrast to Mtoro Bakari, he had lived in East Africa after economic exploitation intensified around 1900, as well as during the Maji Maji War itself, and was thus able to link up these experiences to those he made in Germany.

Despite the positive changes seen in Germany during the period of parliamentary democracy between 1918 and 1933, the importance of any intellectual involvement of Africans, particularly those from south of the Sahara, continued to diminish from the beginning of the colonial period in the 1880s until the end of the Nazi regime. It was practically not possible for them to acquire academic merit in Germany and pursue a corresponding career during that period. Though such aspirations were unrealistic for Mtoro Bakari, he was able to make important contributions as an author, in particular to the *Safari* and the *Desturi za Wasuabeli*, as we shall see in the next chapter. His writings, inspired by Carl Velten’s initiative and by his organizational ideas, were stimulating examples of contemporary ethnography; they were certainly more than a systematic collection of facts without conceptual ambitions. The *Desturi* exemplifies a descriptive tradition in intercultural communication and is characterized by the intention of presenting a comprehensive account of a specific society and language, originally directed to a particular readership. Such an approach became

Racial Nationalism in Tanzania, 1920-1950’, *SI*, 12/4, 2006, 414-420.

¹⁰ It was a “rebellion” and “an explosion of African hatred of European rule”, according to J. Iliffe, *Modern History*, 168. In recent years Marcia Wright, Thaddeus Sunseri, Jamie Monson and Felicitas Becker have added new aspects and thus relativized this view – see their publications in the bibliography.

increasingly outdated, for instance with the methodological and theoretical advancements in social and cultural anthropology after the First World War. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the racial discrimination experienced by Mtoro Bakari curbed the intellectual development of a skilful language analyst, gifted author and cultural communicator. His major works, which he was able to produce in the short period before his academic career was brought to an end, will remain an important source for the further study of East African languages and cultures.

Postscript

on the writings of Mtoro Bakari

The riddles are already done,
and the stories are finished,
and the fables are completed.
Don't ask for more. [...]

You got the things through your tricks.
You never met any objection.
Every word was well discussed,
and all the powers as well. [...]

Formerly we were fools.
Our wisdom was superficial.
But if people were not fools,
We wouldn't have been dehumanized.

[...]
Wake up, those who have slept,
and don't sleep anymore!

*Poem for the Europeans,
collected by Carl Velten from an unknown author before 1907*

The works of Mtoro Bakari are widely seen as outstanding examples of nineteenth century Swahili literature reflecting important aspects of the culture and society of the East African littoral at the end of the precolonial period. This view will not be challenged here. However, it should be kept in mind that, in actual fact, they were produced at the very beginning of the twentieth century, not in East Africa, but within the social and intellectual environment of a European metropolis. Mtoro Bakari evidently worked on them while becoming acquainted with life in Berlin and improving his German language proficiency. At the same time he began to learn more about the views and interests of German scholars as well as the thinking of prospective readers of his texts. It seems that he composed them in connection with his teaching practice and, after writing them down, made use of existing Swahili stories and of his own accounts of Swahili society and culture in his courses and talks. In general, he frankly discussed both positive and negative aspects while, unsurprisingly in the context of colonialism, he was repeatedly put in a position where he had to defend his culture and religion.

To date, Mtoro Bakari is mainly known as the compiler and author of the *Desturi za Wasuaheli*, a classic of Swahili prose first published in 1903, as well as of two articles included in the *Safari za Wasuaheli*, a collection of travel accounts edited by Carl Velten in 1901. These writings only became available to a broader readership after being translated into English. In 1965 Lyndon Harries, professor of the Swahili language and literature at the University of Wisconsin, published selected chapters of the *Desturi* plus two travel accounts from the *Safari* (the latter were not written by Mtoro Bakari) in a bilingual

edition. According to the introduction of his book, these texts “are remarkably free of European influence, and provide a unique record of Swahili life in Mrima Country [i.e. on the East African coast] towards the end of the nineteenth century.” In reality, Lyndon Harries re-composed and summarized the Swahili original with the apparent intention of using them for teaching purposes. By reducing information concerning their respective production contexts, such as place names and personal names, and leaving out the autobiographical passages of Mtoro Bakari, he tended to separate the texts from their concrete history and indigenize them.¹

An adequate translation of the *Desturi* with numerous comments appeared in 1981 in remembrance of John W.T. Allen, comprising the main text plus selected chapters from the original appendix dealing with Islamic law and related local practices. In the preface Noel King commended Mtoro Bakari’s literary contribution and Carl Velten’s pioneering work but was not afraid to criticize the latter for publishing these texts under his own name, although he only edited and translated them.² In fact, however, the English edition itself is not consistent in respect to clarifying original authorship. Although Carl Velten clearly noted that the author of the appendix is Mbaraka bin Shomari, the English edition only mentions him in a footnote. The table of contents might well have assigned the main text to Mtoro Bakari who indeed wrote it – but partly made use of contributions of unknown Swahili authors reportedly provided by Carl Velten. Finally, the editors left out 3 of the 294 pages of the main text, on the grounds that more adequate summaries of Islamic divorce practices are already published elsewhere.³ As an example, this section includes a real or fictional letter of divorce to Masiti binti Mwinyi Bakari, apparently a sister of Mtoro Bakari.

Noel King celebrated the *Desturi* “for being one of the earliest African works to become widely accessible in a European language” and having “a considerable influence in Africa, the Western world, and European empires in Asia and the Pacific”. Moreover, he asserted that “in a way it did for the academic world what Africa through Picasso and others did for the world of art or what jazz did for the world of music.” The only evidence provided for these statements is the idea that the *Desturi* might have anticipated the clear delineation of life’s stages in *Rites of Passage*, the classical work of Arnold van Gennep published in 1909. In fact, van Gennep’s book contains a number of more pertinent references, the *Desturi* being cited in just one marginal

¹ Apart from that, he was seemingly not aware of the fact that C. Velten published separate German translations, cf. L. Harries (ed.), *Swahili Prose Texts: A Selection from the Material collected by Carl Velten from 1893 to 1896*. London, Nairobi, 1965, vii, 150 (quotation).

² N.Q. King, ‘Preface’, in J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, x.

³ See the first part of the related chapter on pages 131-132 of the English translation, which does not cover the last paragraph on page 194 up to page 197 of the Swahili original.

Desturi za Wasuaheli

na

khabari za desturi za sheri'a
za Wasuaheli

von

Dr. C. Velten,

Lehrer des Suaheli
am Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen.



Göttingen.

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

1903.

footnote.⁴

Furthermore, it must be remembered that not all contemporary reactions were positive. In a book review Alice Werner pointed out the different cultural origins of the information presented in the *Desturi* and tried to place them in a wider anthropological context. In her eyes, the relevance of particular sections varied widely, and much of the book was “not suitable for general reading”.⁵ Like Alice Werner before him, Carl Heinrich Becker criticized the fragmentary nature of the book as well as the lack of differentiation between African custom (*ada*) and Islamic law (*sharia*). Acknowledging that he drew much inspiration from Veltens’s text, he questioned the relevance of the *Desturi* in regard to ongoing research.⁶ He mentioned the main author, Mtoro Bakari, only incidentally, through he had served him as an informant when he wrote his well-known study of Islam in East Africa. In particular, he referred to him as the one who distinguished between a local (*kilemba*) and the Islamic (*mahari*) part of the bridal gift in the chapter on marriage customs.⁷

In the final analysis, it appears that this critique originates in deficiencies that the commentators not fully addressed: the editor’s inadequate acknowledgement of the contributions made by the real authors and the general insufficiency of his comments. A more systematic study would have to place the work within the context of contemporary ethnographic research and related colonial discourse. Future studies may also establish the changing ways in which the *Desturi* was perceived and its influence on Swahili literature. An examination of which aspects of the *Desturi* represent Swahili culture as a whole, and how far it is relevant as a source of local history, has yet to be undertaken. Up to the present, anthropologists have largely neglected the work, and because of the lack of a modern Swahili edition, it is scarcely known in East Africa until today.

Like other linguists of his time, Carl Velten adopted the idea of publishing texts written by African authors with the intention of enabling students not

⁴ Concerning divorce rituals, cf. *Les Rites de passage*, Paris; the first English translation was published in 1960.

⁵ The review of the *Desturi* was published in 1903, following a less critical one of the *Safari* also written by A. Werner, in *Man* (London), 3/81, 141-143, and 3/32, 60-62; cf. the reference to Mtoro Bakari’s article on the Wadoe in A. Werner, ‘Akikuyu’, *JAS*, 10/40 (1910), 455.

⁶ C.H. Becker, ‘Materialien’, 2; cf. the English translation of this article: B.G. Martin, ‘Materials for the Understanding of Islam in German East Africa’, *TNR*, 68 (1968), 33-34. See also Becker’s critical excerpt of the *Desturi* (GStA Pk VI.HA, Nachlass C.H. Becker, Nr.6584, cards 1-5).

⁷ C.H. Becker, ‘Ein Kolonialbeamter über den Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika’, in C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig, vol.2, 1932, 126; cf. C. Velten, *Desturi*, 94; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 108; see “turban” and “bride-price” in J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 64.

only to actively learn these languages but also to understand the corresponding mentalities. Focusing on Swahili his approach had a particular relevance with regard to the German colonizers in East Africa who, from the very beginning, used the language at lower and middle levels of administration. Although he presented the texts as original contribution, the respected Swahili men whom he chose to write for him seemed to be influenced in significant ways, for instance in regard to the choice of subjects and the orientation towards a foreign readership. Carl Velten transliterated the Arabic into Latin script, orienting himself on the English orthography that had been established by British missionaries in Zanzibar. Finally, he tried to edit the texts in their original form, i.e. by not making major corrections or change them in any other way.⁸

In contrast to the previous Swahili authors, Mtoro Bakari was the only author who lived in Germany and frequently met Carl Velten. Their continuous collaboration seems to be an important factor in the level of abstraction and the explanatory value which his writings achieved. Notably, Mtoro Bakari's texts have a rather different quality than the articles on Swahili customs written by Swahili authors and published by Carl Velten in 1898.⁹ However, they may still be read as a reflection of his own experiences in East Africa and Germany, as for instance the section on rules of behaviour of Quranic school pupils. It is probably no coincidence that, in terms of the

Rules of Behaviour between Teacher and Pupil

1. If you are with your teacher treat him as though you were his slave. Anything that he gives you to do, you must do it.
2. Every morning and evening the pupil must go to the teacher and greet him.
3. Treat your teacher's wife as though she were your mother, even if she is young.
4. If you find your teacher carrying anything, you must take it from him.
5. If you are in the company of your teacher, you must not be in front and he behind.
6. If your teacher has travelled and returns to town, you must come and greet him immediately.
7. If he is in conversation, you must not interrupt.
8. You must pay respect to any teacher, even if he is not yours.
9. Give to a friend of your teacher the same respect that you pay to him.
10. Do not sit in your teacher's seat, unless in his absence he has left you to take the class.
11. If your teacher passes by when you are in company and he greets you, reply civilly and stand up.
12. Do not argue with your teacher in public places.

⁸ See e.g. C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, Stuttgart, etc., 1898, XIV-XV; C. Velten, *Praktische Anleitung zur Erlernung der Schrift der Suaheli*. Göttingen, 1901.

⁹ C. Velten, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli', *MSOS*, 1 (1898), 9-85.

relationships of students and teachers at the SOL, the first six rules express differences, and the following six similarities. The way in which he characterized the schools in East Africa also indicates that Mtoro Bakari did not know much about the authoritarian teachers and the class character of the school system which still prevailed in Germany at the time when he worked on the *Desturi*.¹⁰

In recent years Thomas Geider has characterized *Desturi za Wasuaheli* as an early and outstanding example of “indigenous ethnography”, thereby acknowledging the fact that both local knowledge and European research and writing practices contributed to its production.¹¹ Despite this classification it is still difficult to assess the contribution made by Mtoro Bakari and other African authors to the main part of the text. More detailed studies are likely to show that the bulk of information originates from the Bagamoyo region where Mtoro Bakari lived during the first three decades of his life. In all, the work was not designed to provide an adequate record of the local diversity of Swahili culture, but rather to present common practices and traditions prevailing on the southern part of the East African coast and its hinterland. Notably, the Swahili introduction asserts that there was a cultural continuum which in practice coincided with the littoral of the German colony and which shared basic characteristics with a second continuum falling within the borders of British East Africa.¹² This idea served to endorse the *Desturi* as an introduction to the social conditions of East Africa, with the particular intention of educating employees of the German colonial administration who were expected to use their understanding in order to sustain political control.

Carl Velten promoted his work by suggesting that “nobody could be in a better position but the natives themselves to give us reliable information concerning their customs, manners and judicial ideas.” At the same time he said nothing about the implicit reflections of African authors, which were necessary for addressing a European readership, and effectively left it to the readers to study and analyse the text. Notably, Carl Velten asserted that he made use of some Swahili texts collected during his stay in East Africa, the most relevant of which he presumably included in his publication of 1898

¹⁰ C. Velten, *Desturi*, 42-43; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 47-48; J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 29. In rule 12, I translated “*katika barāza*” as “public places” since in the *Desturi* this expression would refer to a gathering of people, in contrast to “*barazan?*” denoting the reception room or the sitting area outside a Swahili house.

¹¹ Th. Geider, ‘Indigene Ethnographien in der Swahili-sprachigen Dokumentarliteratur’, in Th. Geider & R. Kastenholz (eds.), *Sprachen und Sprachzeugnisse in Afrika*, Köln, 1994, 135-152. For the “indigenous ethnography” as a sub-genre of the “habari” genre see Th. Geider, ‘The Paper Memory of East Africa: Ethnohistories and Biographies Written in Swahili’, in A. Harneit-Sievers (ed.), *A Place in the World*, Leiden, 2002, 255-288.

¹² It seems that the Swahili introduction was written by Mtoro Bakari and translated by Carl Velten, cf. pages 1-2 of the Swahili and German version.

mentioned above. After looking at these texts and discussing them with his superior, Mtoro Bakari was able to elucidate additional aspects, and, “once set on the right track, he significantly contributed to the completion of this work by his own writings”.¹³ These statements create the impression that Mtoro Bakari added sections or chapters merely on the basis of his own knowledge and the work as a whole was, in practice, not influenced by prior publications.

In this respect, however, mention should first be made of a doctoral dissertation on “the personal and family law of the Swahili” written by a German law student who was also studying Swahili, Richard Niese. In the foreword, he mentioned that Mtoro Bakari, “who is rightly regarded as one of the most educated and well-informed Swahili”, helped him by discussing various topics that were not treated adequately in existing publications.¹⁴ In 1901/02, i.e. at the time when he was working on the *Desturi*, Mtoro Bakari contributed five Swahili documents to this study. Richard Niese transliterated them from Arabic and added a German translation. Original authorship may not have been a major concern in Mtoro Bakari’s eyes. In fact, it is likely that these texts were written by himself since all of them originate from the time he lived in Berlin, as a conversion of the dates from the Islamic to the Christian calendar shows. One text explicitly mentions “Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari” as author and witness. It seems that he generally used the names of real persons in order to render the documents more authentic. Presumably, Mtoro Bakari was used to producing such documents on behalf of others, both as an educated Muslim in East Africa as well as for his students in Germany. Moreover, Niese’s dissertation proves that Mtoro Bakari knew some of the German publications on Swahili culture, as he evidently contradicted statements that Richard Niese had drawn from Velten’s above-mentioned publication on Swahili customs (1898) as well as from an article of Ernst Albrecht von Eberstein, the District Commissioner of Kilwa, on the understanding of law among the people living on the southeastern coast of German East Africa.¹⁵ An analysis of related aspects in the *Desturi* may show in detail how Mtoro Bakari, as an author, reacted to his talks with Richard Niese and the sources he used.

Secondly, mention should be made of Hans Zache who contributed to the longstanding academic endeavour of compiling systematic information on the

¹³ These statements appear in the prefaces of both the Swahili and German version. C. Velten, *Desturi*, V; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, V-VI.

¹⁴ R. Niese, *Das Personen- und Familienrecht der Suaheli (Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Rechtswissenschaft)*, Berlin, 1902, 9 (foreword dated June 1902), cf. the frequent references to Mtoro Bakari in the footnotes. R. Niese matriculated for Swahili from the winter semester of 1898/99 to the winter semester of 1899/1900, and, after having completed his dissertation, in the summer semester of 1903 (AVPS).

¹⁵ R. Niese, *Das Personen- und Familienrecht*, footnotes 35, 53, 74, 105.

different forms of customary law existing in the German colonies.¹⁶ His article on the “customs and manners of the Swahili people” bears the same German title as the German version of the *Desturi*, has a similar structure and contains similar details, based on information collected in Dar es Salaam. The first chapters of the *Desturi* actually appear to be a more extensive version of Zache’s article written from a different local perspective.¹⁷ Making use of various samples of the language, Zache’s account can be identified as a representation of Swahili “customs and manners” in the tradition of contemporary European ethnography. However, Velten’s edition clearly transcends this concept as it includes not only detailed descriptions and general explanations, but also personal reminiscences as well as comments on the colonial administration, songs and riddles, interpretations of common thinking, and other kinds of texts which were arranged by the editor. Accordingly, the intellectual roots and actual inspirations were diverse, which makes it difficult for us to judge the authenticity to the *Desturi* or to pinpoint a principled distance (in the *Desturi*) to the colonial context – if such a distance existed.

Mtoro Bakari’s writings on history and culture in East Africa reveal much about his ethnic identity. The short introductions to his texts concerning the Doe people in the *Safari* and, more clearly, the Swahili in the *Desturi* both emphasize the far-reaching similarity of cultural characteristics in the coastal regions from Lamu to Lindi. On the other hand, Mtoro Bakari differentiated between ethnic groups and mentioned some of their sub-units. In his first account he presented himself as a resident of Bagamoyo who collected more information from Doe traders coming to the town than from his journey to their country. In his second article which deals with the Zaramo he did not identify himself as a member of this ethnic group nor did he claim to represent the Zaramo as a whole, explicitly mentioning Dunda and Bagamoyo as the places where he acquired the relevant knowledge. He evidently saw both the Doe and the Zaramo through Swahili eyes, for instance in regard to their perceived lack of a proper religion and literacy¹⁸ as well as their less advanced clothing styles; and he portrayed the Zaramo as slightly more advanced than the Doe in these respects.

¹⁶ E. Schultz-Ewerth & L. Adam (eds.), *Das Eingeborenerecht* VI-VII; Harald Sippel, ‘Der deutsche Reichstag und das “Eingeborenerecht”: Die Erforschung der Rechtsverhältnisse der autochthonen Völker in den deutschen Kolonien’, *RabelsZ*, 61/4 (1997), 728.

¹⁷ Like Carl Velten, Hans Zache focused on the coastal area of German East Africa and used Muslim “teachers” (*walimu*) as informants. Originally, he intended to publish a more extensive account but never did so, one reason possibly being the fact that the *Desturi* appeared in 1903. H. Zache, ‘Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli’, *ZfE*, 31 (1899), 61-86.

¹⁸ Cf. the quotation at the beginning of Chapter 1 quoted from: Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari, ‘Safari yangu ya Udoo hatta Uzigua’ & ‘Habari ya inchi ya Wazaramu’, 148 & 229; ‘Meine Reise nach Udoo bis Uzigua’ & ‘Mitteilungen über das Land Uzaramu’, 165 & 251.

The *Desturi*, his third text, shows that Mtoro Bakari became increasingly familiar with the technical and intellectual achievements of Europe, thus partially moving away from ideas prevailing among the Swahili people. Among others, the section on time-reckoning entitled “Of the Sun” illustrates this point:¹⁹

We do not know about the beginning and end of the earth; but we see the days come and go, and we see the sun rise and set. We believe that, as our ancestors said, when the sun sets there is a great bang like a cannon near the place where it goes down as it falls into the water, but no one can hear it except children and animals.

We see the sun rise daily, but we do not know what happens. We do not understand the hand of a clock, because in the past we had no clocks. If you ask anyone the time, he will reply, “Look at the sun” or he will look at his shadow and measure its length with his feet. If the sun is overhead, he knows the time, and if his shadow is nine feet long, he says it is nine o’clock. At night they do not know eleven or twelve. On rainy days they know when the cock crows that it is five or six. If they do not crow, they do not know the time. That is what the Swahili believe about the sun.

African culture is rarely presented in the *Desturi* in such a comparative way, nor do most parts of the *Desturi* particularly address a European audience. The distinctive character of the chapter “Examples of Swahili Beliefs about God’s Creation”, to which the above section belongs, is the reason for a commentator in the English edition of the *Desturi* to assume that it was not written by Mtoro Bakari. He censures the author, or the authors, for their supercilious belief in modernity.²⁰ There is, however, no reason to believe that the views expressed in this chapter fundamentally differ from those of Mtoro Bakari. In his German preface, Velten suggested that “Examples of Swahili Beliefs about God’s Creation” was the first time this aspect of Swahili culture had ever been published. In fact, it may well have been written by Mtoro Bakari who began to contribute a variety of new texts after he came to Berlin. Secondly, it is obvious that the African author had attained a partial acquaintance with Western technology and scientific knowledge which made it possible for him to see his own culture through foreign eyes. The recognition of European achievements not only tallies with Mtoro Bakari’s neutral or positive references to the function of colonial courts in his two contributions to the *Safari*, but also, as we have seen, with his statement on colonial development in Bagamoyo and his critique of tax defaulters, in which he pointed out that many people neither “understand the dates of the months nor the arrangements of the tax”.²¹ This shows that he

¹⁹ C. Velten, *Desturi*, 278; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 335; J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 186. The person mentioned in this quotation can be understood as being male or female because related pronouns and affixes are gender neutral in Swahili.

²⁰ N.Q. King, ‘Preface’, in J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 300 note 1.

²¹ C. Velten, *Desturi*, 234; *Sitten und Gebräuche*, 283; J.W.T. Allen (ed.), *Customs*, 156.

was not unaware of the fact that European concepts of time were an important element of the colonial order, the spread of which would facilitate the extraction of taxes and the control of wage labour.

These details give an idea as to Mtoro Bakari's political outlook during his early years in Germany. It was a consequence of the fact that he had been on fairly good terms with the German colonial administration in East Africa and that he had profited from taking up the position of a language teacher in Berlin. After the conflicts of 1904/05 and 1913, however, he was excluded from working in an academic context. Such experiences naturally influenced his thinking, but we do not know much about these changes since, despite his clearly expressed dissent, he chose to avoid any public protest or political activity, as the available evidence indicates. His writings hardly contain relevant information. None of them survived without changes made by others, their authenticity tending to decrease over time. His earliest works, the two articles which appeared under his name in *Safari*, were transliterated and edited by Carl Velten. The same holds for the main part of the *Desturi*. In this case, Carl Velten influenced the writing process as a critical reader. Future studies may show which sections are likely to have been the work of Mtoro Bakari, for instance by analyzing linguistic evidence, comparing the style and identifying place names. Thirdly, there are texts which were not published under his name but probably written by him. To this category belongs an account included in Velten's collection of Swahili prose and poems of 1907. Finally, he made contributions to publications of Carl Meinhof and served as an informant for various scholars, e.g. for Richard Niese and Otto Dempwolff.

The letters in archives, written on his behalf, largely express the weak position of an individual facing the German authorities of the time, and they are evidence for his increasingly critical and calculating attitude towards them. No longer asked to write and publish, he found more and more opportunities to participate in discussions and give talks at many places, outside of the capital. In these contexts Mtoro Bakari played a very different role, certainly profiting from the knowledge he had acquired in East Africa and the experiences he had made in Germany. Between 1900 and 1913, he educated between three and four hundred students as a language teacher, a cultural communicator and a learned Muslim. He continued to do this on his own initiative after being dismissed in 1905, and again sometime after leaving Hamburg at the turn of the year 1913/14. In this respect, it is difficult to find additional information, which, however, may still come to light, for instance in published or unpublished letters or diaries. Only corresponding sources would make it possible, firstly, to properly understand Mtoro Bakari's activities and the development of his thinking after his exclusion from working at institutions of higher learning in Germany, and, secondly, to view his writings from the perspective of his subsequent life.

Abbreviations

HCI	Hamburg Colonial Institute (<i>Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut</i>)
SCL	School of Oriental Languages (<i>Seminar für orientalische Sprachen</i>)
USPD	Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (<i>Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i>)
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association (<i>Christlicher Verein junger Männer</i>)

Periodical publications

AAP	Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere
AHS	African Historical Studies (continues as <i>IJAHS</i>)
AVPS	Amtliches Verzeichnis des Personals und der Studierenden des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, 1887 to 1919/20 (official register of the personnel and the students of the School of Oriental Languages)
BKK	Beiträge zur Kolonialpolitik und Kolonialwirtschaft
ChO	Der christliche Orient
DoaZ	Deutsch-ostafrikanische Zeitung
DAZ	Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung
DKZ	Deutsche Kolonialzeitung
EMM	Evangelisches Missionsmagazin
IJAHS	International Journal of African Historical Studies
IWWKT	Internationale Wochenschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik
JAH	Journal of African History
JaR	Jahrbuch für afrikanisches Recht
JAS	Journal of the African Society
JEDS	Jahresbericht über die Entwicklung der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und in der Südsee (ed. by the Imperial Colonial Office)
JHWA	Jahrbuch der Hamburgischen wissenschaftlichen Anstalten
KH	Kolonie und Heimat
KR	Koloniale Rundschau
MbBMG	Missions-Berichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft
MbNMG	Monats-Blatt der Norddeutschen Missions-Gesellschaft
MDS	Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten
MSOS	Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen (Dritte Abteilung: Afrikanische Studien)
OL	Orientalischer Literaturbericht
PRGS	Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London
RabelsZ	Rabels Zeitschrift für deutsches und internationales Privatrecht
SI	Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture
S&A	Slavery & Abolition
StBVR	Stenographische Berichte der Verhandlungen des Reichstags
SUGIA	Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika
TNR	Tanganyika Notes and Records / Tanzania Notes and Records
UP	Usambara-Post
ZfaoS	Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen

ZaS	Zeitschrift für afrikanische Sprachen
ZfE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
ZfES	Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen (continues as <i>Afrika und Übersee</i>)
ZfG	Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft
ZfKS	Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen (continued by <i>ZfES</i>)

Archives

AFSt	Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen (archives of the Francke Foundation) LMW, II.32 – Lutheran Missionary Society (Leipzig), Africa
BMW	Archiv des Berliner Missionswerk (mission archives of the Protestant church) bmw 1 – Berlin Missionary Society
BArch	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives, Berlin) R 1001 – Imperial Colonial Office
GStA PK	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Prussian State Archives) I. HA Rep. 76 – Ministry of Education I. HA Rep. 208A – School of Oriental Languages
StA HH	Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg (Hamburg State Archives) 132-1 I – Commission of the senate for foreign affairs 361-5 – University affairs 361-6 – University affairs: personal files 364-6 – Colonial Institute 332-8 – Registration Office 364-13 – Faculties and Departments of the University
TNA	Tanzania National Archives G 3 – German Records: Financial affairs G 7 – German Records: Public works G 9 – German Records: Affairs of churches and schools G 32 – German Records: Bagamoyo District
UHB	Unitätsarchiv der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine (archives of the Moravian Church) MD – Mission Directorate
VEM	Vereinte Evangelische Mission RMG – Rhine Missionary Society M – Bethel Mission

References

Archives consulted

- Archiv des Berliner Missionswerks (Berlin), the mission archives at the central archives of the Protestant church in Berlin (*Kirchliches Archivzentrum Berlin*, <http://www.ezab.de/>), holding documents and photographs of the Berlin Missionary Society (*Berliner Missionsgesellschaft*).
- Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung (Witzenhausen, <http://www.burgludwigstein.de/archiv/>), Archives of the German Youth Movement, contains a collection on Hans Paasche, which contains neither relevant documents nor photographs.
- Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen (Halle, <http://www.francke-halle.de/main/>), the archives of the August Hermann Francke Foundation, holding the documents of the Leipzig Mission (*Evangelisch-Lutherische Mission*); the photographs are kept by the mission house (*Evangelisches Missionswerk*) in Leipzig.
- Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv (Berlin), Berlin Phonogram Archives at the ethnological museum (*Ethnologisches Museum*).
- Breklumer Mission (Brekum, <http://www.christian-jensen-kolleg.de/index.html>), the archives of the Breklum Mission.
- Bundesarchiv (Berlin and Koblenz, <http://www.bundesarchiv.de/>), the German Federal Archives contains documents and photographs relating to the former German colonies.
- Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin, <http://www.gsta.spk-berlin.de/framesets/frameset.php>), the archives of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation contains the archives of the former Prussian State.
- Hamburger Bibliothek für Universitätsgeschichte (Hamburg), Hamburg Library for University History, e.g. contains the register of students of the HCI, but otherwise no unpublished sources that are relevant to this study.
- Historical Archives of the Seventh Day Adventists in Europe (in Friedensau, near Magdeburg). According to communication with the archivist, Daniel Heinz, it seems unlikely that there are relevant sources concerning the members of this mission who studied Swahili at Mtoro Bakari's time (e.g. Ernst Kotz) or may have attended the colloquium on Islam.
- Landesarchiv Berlin (Berlin, <http://www.landesarchiv-berlin.de/>), the municipal archives of Berlin.
- Lautarchiv (Berlin, <http://publicus.culture.hu-berlin.de/lautarchiv/>), phonetic archives at the Department of Musicology, Humboldt University, contain recordings produced between 1909 and 1944, but none of Mtoro Bakari according to the director, Jürgen Mahrenholz.
- Mission 21, Evangelisches Missionswerk Basel (Basel, <http://www.mission-21.org/>), holding the archives of the Basel Mission; according to the archivist, Guy Thomas, there are no specific files concerning the SOL or the HCI, nor are there relevant letters of Adolf Vielhauer, the only member of this missionary society who matriculated at the Department of Colonial Languages of the SOL between 1905/06 and 1908/09.
- Phonetisches Laboratorium (Hamburg, Dresden). The Phonetic Laboratory was part of the Department of Colonial Languages of the HCI. The collection of the first director, Giulio Panconcelli-Calzia, is found in the Department of General & Applied Linguistics, University of Hamburg. The technical devices have been transferred to the Dresden University of Technology (<http://tu-dresden.de>). The recordings were largely destroyed during the Second World War. There are none left which are relevant to this study.

Staatsarchiv Bremen (Bremen, <http://www.staatsarchiv.bremen.de/>), state archives of Bremen contain documents and photographs of the North German Missionary Society. There is some evidence concerning members of this society studying Ewe at the SOL and the HCI, but apparently no information on their reported participation in the colloquium on Islam.

Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg (Hamburg, <http://fhh.hamburg.de/stadt/Aktuell/behoerden/staatsarchiv/start.html>), the State Archives of Hamburg contain the archives of the Hamburg Colonial Institute and the Department of African Languages, University of Hamburg.

Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky (Hamburg, <http://www.sub.uni-hamburg.de/sammlungen/sonder.html>), the State and University Library of Hamburg, includes the papers of Otto Dempwolff, but apparently no information on Mtoro Bakari. Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin, <http://handschriften.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/>), the largest academic library in Germany, contains the former Prussian State's library collections, as well as unpublished documents including letters of Carl Meinhof, Carl Velten, etc., but apparently no information on Mtoro Bakari.

Tanzania National Archives (Dar es Salaam), contain the major part of the documents of the colonial administrations of German East Africa and Tanganyika.

Unitätsarchiv der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine (Herrnhut, <http://www.archiv.ebu.de/>), contains documents and photographs of the Moravian Church (*Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*).

Vereinte Evangelische Mission (Wuppertal, <http://www.vemission.org/wer-wir-sind/archiv-und-museumsstiftung-wuppertal/>), archives of the United Evangelical Mission, contains documents and photographs of the Rhine Missionary Society (*Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*) and the Evangelical Mission for German East Africa (*Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft für Deutsch-Ostafrika*) which moved from Berlin to Bethel in 1906 and came to be known as the Bethel Mission (*Bethel-Mission*).

For historical photographs available on the internet see in particular:

<http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de/> (a selection of photographs held by the Federal Archives of Germany)

<http://www.ub.bildarchiv-dkg.uni-frankfurt.de/> (the collection of the former German Colonial Society)

<http://www.staatsarchiv-bremen.findbuch.net> (photographs of the North German Missionary Society, including a substantial number from Togo)

<http://www.bmpix.org> (photographs collected by the Basel Mission, many of them concerning Ghana and Cameroon)

The following institutions did not give me as an external researcher permission to use their valuable resources:

1. The ethnological museum in Hamburg (<http://www.voelkerkundemuseum.com/>) which holds, for instance, the collection of Hans Glauning, who possibly accompanied Mtoro Bakari on his journey from Dar es Salaam to Berlin in May and June 1900, documents on African languages, as well as voice recordings. There are also a huge number of historical photographs; those concerning Africa are currently estimated at around 13000 by the director, Wulf Köpke.
2. The ethnological museum in Dresden (<http://www.voelkerkunde-dresden.de/>) keeps the documents and photographs of Bernhard Struck, who repeatedly met Mtoro Bakari in 1907/08. The person dealing with photographs, Irene Godenschweg, kindly informed me that there are none in Struck's collection showing Mtoro Bakari.

Works cited – primary

- Abdallah bin Hemedi 'IAjjem, *The Kilindi*. Ed. by J.W.T. Allen & William Kimweri. Nairobi, etc.: East African Literature Bureau, 1963. The Swahili edition *Habari za Wakilindi* was published in 1962.
- Allen, J.W.T. (ed.), *The Customs of the Swahili People: The Desturi za Waswahili of Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari and Other Swahili Persons*. Compiled in memoriam with notes and studies by various Makerere Colleagues, African, American, Asian, British, and European. Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press, 1981.
- Amur bin Nasur ilOmeiri, 'Khabari ya Amur bin Nasur', in C.G. Büttner, *Anthologie aus der Suabeli-Litteratur*, Berlin, 1894, part 1, 147-175.
- 'Leben des Herrn Amur bin Nasur', in C.G. Büttner, *Anthologie aus der Suabeli-Litteratur*, Berlin, 1894, part 2, 157-190.
- Anonymous, 'Aus dem Seminar der Deutschen Orientmission', *ChO*, 7/9 (1906), 144.
- Anonymous, 'Das muhammedanische Seminar der deutschen Orient-Mission', *ChO*, 10/8 (1909), 114-116.
- Anonymous, 'Habari ya mtoza kodi. Erlebnisse eines Steuererhebers', in C. Velten *Prosa und Poesie der Suabeli*. Berlin, 1907, 154-155.
- Anonymous, 'Habari ya safari ya Uzaramu Madimla. Beschreibung einer Reise nach Madimla in Uzaramu', in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suabeli*. Berlin, 1907, 234-240.
- Anonymous, 'Hiki kissa cha zamani za Bagamoyo. Geschichtliches aus früheren Zeiten von Bagamojo', in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suabeli*. Berlin, 1907, 300-305.
- Anonymous, 'Shairi kwa Wazungu', in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suabeli*. Berlin, 1907, 367-370.
- Axenfeld, Carl, 'Vom Islam in Usaramo', *MbBMG*, December 1908, 560-569.
- 'Ostafrikanische Kämpfe', *MbBMG*, March 1909, 51-60.
- Bakari, Mtoro *see* Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari
- Baur, Étienne / Le Roy, Alexandre, *A travers le Zanguebar: Voyage dans l'Oudoé, l'Ouzigoua, l'Oukwèrè, l'Oukami et l'Ousagara*. Tours: Alfred Mame, 1886.
- Becker, Carl Heinrich, 'Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien?', *KR*, 1/5 (1909), 266-293.
- 'Der Islam und die Kolonisierung Afrikas', *IWWKT*, 4/8 (1910), 227-252.
- 'Staat und Mission in der Kolonialpolitik', *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Kolonialkongresses 1910*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1910, 638-651.
- 'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', *Der Islam*, 2 (1911), 1-48; reprinted in C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, vol.2, 1932, 63-115; transl. by B.G. Martin (ed.), 'Materials for the Understanding of Islam in German East Africa', *TNR*, 68 (1968), 31-61.
- 'Feste des Islam', in Heinrich Schnee (ed.), *Deutsches Koloniallexikon*. Berlin: Quelle & Meyer, 1920, vol.1, 607.
- *Islamstudien: Vom Werden und Wesen der islamischen Welt*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1924-32.
- 'Ein Missionar über den Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', in C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, vol.2, 1932, 116-121.
- 'Ein Kolonialbeamter über den Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika', in C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, vol.2, 1932, 122-126.
- Behr, Hugold Felix von, *Kriegsbilder aus dem Araberaufstand in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1891.
- Büttner, Carl Gotthilf, *Suabeli-Schriftstücke in arabischer Schrift mit lateinischer Schrift umschrieben, übersetzt und erklärt*. Stuttgart, Berlin: W. Spemann, 1890.

- *Anthologie aus der Suaheli-Litteratur*. 2 parts. Berlin: Emil Felber, 1894.
- ‘Chuo cha Herkal. Das Buch von Herkal’, ed. by Carl Meinhof, *ZfKS*, 2 (1911-1912), 1-36, 108-136, 194-232, 261-296.
- Dempwolff, Otto, ‘Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen in Deutsch-Ostafrika. 2. Eine lautliche Besonderheit des Dzalamo’, *ZfKS*, 2/4 (1912), 257-260.
- ‘Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen Deutsch-Ostafrikas. 3. Ein Märchen und 30 Lieder Dzalamo’, *ZfKS*, 3/3 (1913), 161-181.
- Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt, *The Souls of Black Folk*. Chicago: Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1903.
- *Writings: The suppression of the African Slave-Trade, The Souls of Black Folk, Dusk of Dawn, Essays and Articles*. Ed. by Nathan Huggins. New York: Literary Classics of the United States (The Library of America, 34), 1986.
- Eberstein, Ernst Albrecht von, ‘Über die Rechtsanschauungen der Bewohner des Bezirkes Kilwa’, *MDS*, 9 (1896), 170-183.
- Erhardt, James, ‘Reports respecting Central Africa, as collected in Mambara and on the East Coast’, *PRGS*, 1/1 (1855), 8-10.
- Gerlach, Hellmut von, *Die große Zeit der Lüge*. Charlottenburg: Verlag der Weltbühne, 1926.
- *Von rechts nach links*. Zürich: Europa Verlag, 1937.
- Götzen, Gustav Adolf Graf von, *Deutsch-Ostafrika im Aufstand 1905/06*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1909.
- Graetz, Paul, *Buntes Erleben in drei Erdteilen: Erinnerungen eines alten Afrikaners*. Berlin: Im Deutschen Verlag, 1938.
- Harries, Lyndon (ed.), *Swahili Prose Texts: A Selection from the Material collected by Carl Velten from 1893 to 1896*. London, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Hintrager, Oskar, *Südwestafrika in der deutschen Zeit*. München: Kommissionsverlag R. Oldenbourg, 2nd edition, 1956.
- Jöhlinger, Otto, ‘Suaheli als Kronzeuge’, *DAZ*, 58/474 (29 September 1919).
- Kaiserliches Gouvernement von Deutsch-Ostafrika (ed.), *Die Landes-Gesetzgebung des Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Schutzgebietes. Systematische Zusammenstellung der in Ostafrika geltenden Gesetze, Verordnungen etc.* Berlin: E.S. Mittler & Sohn, 1902.
- Klingenheben, August (ed.), ‘Afrikanische Liebeslieder’, *ZfKS*, 3/3 (1913), 244-247.
- Krenzler, Eugen, *Ein Jahr in Ostafrika (Im Auftrag der Deutsch-Ostafrikanischen Gesellschaft)*. Ulm: J. Ebner’sche Buchdruckerei, 1888.
- Lademann, Gebhard, *Tierfabeln und andere Erzählungen in Suaheli, wiedergegeben von Leuten aus dem Innern Deutsch-Ostafrikas*. Transl. by Ludwig Kausch and Alfred Reuß. Berlin: Georg Reimer (Archiv für das Studium deutscher Kolonialsprachen, 12), 1910.
- Langheld, Wilhelm, *Zwanzig Jahre in deutschen Kolonien*. Berlin: Wilhelm Weicher, 1909.
- Leue, August, ‘Bagamoyo’, *BKK*, 2/1 (1900), 11-32.
- Liga gegen Imperialismus und für Nationale Unabhängigkeit (ed.), *Das Flammenzeichen vom Palais Egmont: Offizielles Protokoll des Kongresses gegen koloniale Unterdrückung und Imperialismus, Brüssel 10.-15. Februar 1927*. Berlin: Neuer Deutscher Verlag, 1927.
- Makembe, Peter (ed.), ‘Duala-Texte’, *ZfES*, 11/3 (1921), 161-181.
- Mbaraka bin Shomari, ‘Khabari za desturi za sheria za Wasuaheli’, in Carl Velten, *Desturi za Wasuaheli na Khabari za desturi za sheri’a za Wasuaheli*. Göttingen, 1903, 295-364.
- ‘Rechtsgewohnheiten der Suaheli’, in Carl Velten, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli*. Göttingen, 1903, 355-423.
- ‘Shairi ya bana Saha’, in C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*. Berlin, 1907, 293-295.
- Meinhof, Carl, *Grundrisse einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen nebst Anleitung zur Aufnahme von Bantusprachen*. Leipzig: Brockhaus in Kommission (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 11,2), 1899.
- ‘Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika’, *MSOS*, 7 (1904), 201-262.
- ‘Heidenmission und Muhammedanermision’, *ChO*, 7/4 (1906), 49-52.

- *Zwingt uns die Heidenmission Muhammedanermision zu treiben?* Vortrag gehalten auf der Eisenacher Gemeinschaftskonferenz am 6. Juni 1906. Osterwieck (Harz): Druck A.W. Zickfeldt, 1906.
- 'Linguistische Studien in Ostafrika. XII. Dzalamo', *MSOS*, 10 (1907), 90-110.
- 'Mission und Islam in Ostafrika', *EMM*, n.s. 52/1 (1908), 1-16.
- *Die Sprache der Suabeli in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer (Ernst Vohsen), 1st edition, 1910.
- *Grundrisse einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen nebst Anleitung zur Aufnahme von Bantusprachen*. Berlin: F.A. Brockhaus, 2nd edition, 1910.
- *Die moderne Sprachforschung in Afrika. Hamburgische Vorträge*. Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft, 1910.
- *Die Sprache der Duala in Kamerun*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1912.
- 'Die Bedeutung der Experimentellen Phonetik für die Erforschung der afrikanischen Sprachen', *Vox: Internationales Zentralblatt für Experimentelle Phonetik*, 23/1 (1913), 22-26.
- *An Introduction to the Study of African Languages*. London, Toronto: J.M. Dent; New York, E.P. Dutton, 1915. Alice Werner's translation of *Die moderne Sprachforschung in Afrika*, slightly modified for an English readership.
- 'Dzalamo-Texte', *ZfES*, 11/3 (1920), 278-295.
- 'Das Lied von Liongo', *ZfES*, 15/4 (1925), 241-265.
- *Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages*. Translated, revised and enlarged with the author and Dr. Alice Werner by N.J. van Warmelo. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 3rd edition, 1932.
- Meinhof, Carl / Panconcelli-Calzia, Giulio, 'Phonetisches Laboratorium des Seminars für Kolonialsprachen zu Hamburg', *JHWA*, 29 (1911), 1912, III. Teil, 85-88.
- Melle, Werner von, *Dreißig Jahre Hamburger Wissenschaft 1891-1921: Rückblicke und persönliche Erinnerungen*. Hamburg: Broschek, 2 vols., 1923 and 1924.
- Methner, Wilhelm, *Unter drei Gouverneuren: 16 Jahre Dienst in deutschen Tropen*. Breslau: Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn, 1938.
- Meyer, Hans, *Zum Schneedom des Kilimandscharo*. Berlin: H.J. Meidinger, 1888.
- Mtoro bin Mwenyi Bakari, 'Safari yangu ya Udoe hatta Uzigua na Khabari za Wadoe na mila yao', in Carl Velten, *Safari za Wasuabeli*. Göttingen, 1901, 126-180.
- 'Meine Reise nach Udoe bis Uzigua sowie Geschichtliches über die Wadoe und Sitten und Gebräuche derselben', in Carl Velten, *Schilderungen der Suabeli von Expeditionen v. Wißmann, Dr. Bumillers, Graf v. Götzens, und Anderer*. Göttingen, 1901, 138-197.
- 'Habari ya inchi ya Wazaramu na dasturi za Wazaramu', in Carl Velten, *Safari za Wasuabeli*. Göttingen, 1901, 205-252.
- 'Mitteilungen über das Land Uzaramu nebst Sitten und Gebräuchen der Wazaramu', in Carl Velten, *Schilderungen der Suabeli von Expeditionen v. Wißmann, Dr. Bumillers, Graf v. Götzens, und Anderer*. Göttingen, 1901, 225-276.
- Nettelblatt, Friedrich Freiherr von, 'Maschairi im Kiswahili', *ZaS*, 3/4 (1890), 285-292.
- Neuhaus, Gustav (ed.), 'Kitabu Mauludi. Buch der Geburt Muhammed's. Suaheli-Gedicht des Lamu-Mannes Scharifu Mansabu bin Scharifu Abdurrahmani al-Hussaini', *MSOS*, 38 (1935), 145-201.
- Niese, Richard, *Das Personen- und Familienrecht der Suabeli (Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Rechtswissenschaft)*. Berlin: Druck von Georg Pintus, 1902. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der juristischen Doktorwürde der hohen juristischen Fakultät der Königlichen Universität Marburg.
- Paasche, Hans, *Meine Mitschuld am Weltkriege*. Berlin, Flugschriften des Bundes Neues Vaterland Nr.6, 1919, reprinted in: H. Paasche, *"Ändert Euren Sinn!" Schriften eines Revolutionärs*, ed. by Helmut Donat & Helga Paasche, Bremen: Donat Verlag (Geschichte & Frieden, 2), 217-232.

- *Das verlorene Afrika*. Berlin, Flugschriften des Bundes Neues Vaterland Nr.16, 1919, reprinted in: H. Paasche, “Ändert Euren Sinn”, ed. by H. Donat & H. Paasche, 232-254.
- Panconcelli-Calzia, Giulio, ‘Über die aspirierten und nichtaspirierten Verschlusslaute sowie den Frageton im Suaheli’, *ZfKS* 1/4 (1911), 305-315.
- Pfläging, Wilhelm, *Zum kolonialrechtlichen Problem der Mischbeziehungen zwischen deutschen Reichsangehörigen und Eingeborenen der deutschen Schutzgebiete, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Unterhaltsanspruches der unehelichen Mischlinge*. Berlin: Gustav Schade, 1913. Dissertation for acquiring the grade of a Doctor of Juridical Science at the University of Marburg.
- Reinhardt, Carl, *Ein arabischer Dialekt gesprochen in Oman und Sansibar*. Stuttgart, Berlin: W. Spemann, 1894.
- Richelmann, Georg, *Meine Erlebnisse in der Wissmann-Truppe*. Magdeburg: Creutz’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1892.
- Ruete, Emilie (Sayyida Salme), *An Arabian princess between two worlds: Memoirs, letters home, sequels to the memoirs, Syrian customs and usages*. Leiden, etc.: Brill, 1993.
- Schmidt, Karl Wilhelm, *Sansibar: Ein ostafrikanisches Culturbild*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1888.
- Schmidt, Rochus, *Geschichte des Araberaufstandes in Ost-Afrika: Seine Entstehung, seine Niederwerfung und seine Folgen*. Frankfurt an der Oder: Verlag der Königlichen Hofbuchdruckerei Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1892.
- Schnee, Heinrich (ed.), *Deutsches Koloniallexikon*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1920; cf. <http://www.ub.bildarchiv-dkg.uni-frankfurt.de/Bildprojekt/Lexikon/lexikon.htm> (2008).
- Schultz-Ewerth, Erich / Adam, Leonhard (eds.), *Das Eingeborenenrecht: Sitten und Gewohnheitsrechte der Eingeborenen der ehemaligen deutschen Kolonien in Afrika und in der Südsee*. Band 1: Ostafrika, geordnet und bearbeitet von Bernhard Ankermann. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1929.
- Schweinitz, Graf von / Beck, C. von / Imberg, D. (eds.), *Deutschland und seine Kolonien im Jahre 1896: Amtlicher Bericht über die erste deutsche Kolonial-Ausstellung*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1897.
- Sienkiewicz, Henryk, *Briefe aus Afrika*. Translated from Polish by I. von Immendorf. Oldenburg, Leipzig: Schulze, 1902. Cf. the extracts edited by Edmund A. Bojarski, ‘The Last of the Cannibals in Tanganyika’, *TNR*, 51 (1958), 227-231.
- Sleman bin Said, ‘Mazehebi ya watu wa Unguja’, in C.G. Büttner, *Anthologie aus der Suaheli-Litteratur*, Berlin, 1894, part 1, 131-145.
- ‘Sitten der Sansibarleute’, in C.G. Büttner, *Anthologie aus der Suaheli-Litteratur*, Berlin, 1894, part 2, 139-156.
- Spring, Albert, *Selbsterlebtes in Ostafrika*. Dresden, Leipzig: Alexander Köhler, 1896.
- Struck, Bernhard, ‘Kisa cha uwongo’, *Kiongozi*, 3/27 (August 1907).
- ‘Visa vya mula Nasreddin’, *Kiongozi*, 3/29 (October 1907).
- ‘Negerhumor: die Geschichte der Brüder Amran, eine Suaheli-Erzählung aus Deutsch-Ostafrika’, *KH*, 1/23 (2 August 1908), supplement, 3.
- ‘Suaheli-Bibliographie. Mit einer Einführung in die moderne Suaheli-Literatur’, *OL*, 1/3 (1909), 61-92.
- ‘Die Einheitssprache Deutsch-Ostafrikas’, *KR*, 13/4 (1921), 164-196.
- Steere, Edward, *Swahili Tales, as Told by Natives of Zanzibar*. With an English translation. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1889.
- Sturtz, J. / Wangemann, J., *Land und Leute in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Erinnerungen aus der ersten Zeit des Aufstandes und der Blockade*. Berlin: E.S. Mittler & Sohn 1890.
- Tiling, Maria von, ‘Suaheli-Lieder’. *ZfES*, 17/4 (1927), 295-304.
- ‘Frauen- und Kinderlieder der Suaheli’. *Festschrift Meinhof, Sprachwissenschaftliche und andere Studien*. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen, 1927, 288-300.
- Toso, Victor, ‘Ein Ewelehrer vor dem Deutschen Kaiser’, *MbNMG*, 73/12 (December 1912), 126-127.

- Velten, Carl, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli', *MSOS*, 1 (1898), 9-85.
- *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*. Stuttgart, Berlin: W. Spemann (Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, 18), 1898.
- *Praktische Anleitung zur Erlernung der Schrift der Suaheli*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901.
- *Safari za Wasuaheli*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901.
- *Schilderungen der Suaheli von Expeditionen v. Wißmann, Dr. Bumillers, Graf v. Götzens, und Anderer*. Aus dem Munde von Suaheli-Negern gesammelt und übersetzt. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901.
- *Desturi za Wasuaheli na Khabari za desturi za sheri'a za Wasuaheli*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903.
- *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli nebst einem Anhang über Rechtsgewohnheiten der Suaheli*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1903.
- *Praktische Suaheli-Grammatik nebst einem Deutsch-Suaheli Wörterverzeichnis*. Berlin: Wilhelm Baensch, 1st (1904), 2nd (1905), and subsequent editions.
- *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*. Berlin: Carl Velten, 1907.
- *Suaheli-Sprachführer für Postbeamte*. Berlin: Carl Velten, 1910.
- *Suaheli-Wörterbuch*. I. Teil: *Suaheli-Deutsch*. Leipzig: Carl Velten, 1910.
- 'Suaheli-Gedichte. Gesammelt und mit einer Übersetzung und Erläuterungen versehen', *MSOS*, 20 (1917), 61-182; 21 (1918), 135-183.
- *Suaheli-Wörterbuch*. II. Teil: *Deutsch-Suaheli*. Magliao, Leipzig: Kommissionsverlag von Otto Harrassowitz, 1933.
- Werner, Alice, Review of *Safari za Wasuaheli* by Carl Velten, in *Man*, 3/32 (1903), 60-62.
- Review of *Desturi za Wasuaheli* by Carl Velten, in *Man*, 3/81 (1903), 141-143.
- 'Akikuyu', *JAS*, 10/40 (July 1910), 447-458.
- Wilde, Martin, 'Die deutsche Orientmission', *Die evangelischen Missionen*, 11/7 (1905), 145-153.
- *Schwarz und Weiss: Bilder von einer Reise durch das Arbeitsgebiet der Berliner Mission in Südafrika*. Berlin: Buchhandlung der Berliner evangel. Missionsgesellschaft, 1913.
- Wilder, Hermann, 'Auch etwas zur Eingeborenenpolitik', *UP*, 4/45 (15 September 1905), supplement. Reprinted in L. Wimmelbücker & H. Sippel, "... aus meiner Heimat verwiesen".
- Zache, Hans, Review of *Anthologie aus der Suaheli-Litteratur* by C.G. Büttner, *ZfaoS*, 1/4 (1895), 373-376.
- (ed.), 'Das Makunganya-Lied', *MSOS*, 1, 1898, 86-114.
- 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli', *ZfE*, 31 (1899), 61-86.

Works cited – secondary

- Aitken, Robbie / Rosenhaft, Eva, 'Deutsch-Kameruner in der Anti-Kolonialbewegung der zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre', in Ulrich van der Heyden und Joachim Zeller (eds.), "... Macht und Anteil an der Weltherrschaft": *Berlin und der deutsche Kolonialismus*. Münster: Unrast-Verlag, 2005, 270-276.
- Alpers, Edward A., 'Kingalu Mwana Shaha & Political Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Tanzania', in Gregory H. Maddox & James L. Giblin (eds.), *In Search of a Nation: Histories of Authority & Dissidence in Tanzania*. Oxford: James Currey, etc. (Eastern African Studies), 2005, 33-54.
- Altena, Thorsten, "Ein Häuflein Christen mitten in der Heidenwelt des dunklen Erdteils": *Zum Selbst- und Fremdverständnis protestantischer Missionare im kolonialen Afrika 1884-1918*. Münster, etc.: Waxmann (Internationale Hochschulschriften, 395), 2003.

- Bechhaus-Gerst, Marianne, 'Kiswahili-speaking Africans in Germany before 1945', *Swahili Forum* 5, 1998, 155-172.
- *Treu bis in den Tod: Von Deutsch-Ostafrika nach Sachsenhausen – Eine Lebensgeschichte*. Berlin: Christoph Links, 2007.
- Bechhaus-Gerst, Marianne (ed.), *AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland und schwarze Deutsche – Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Münster: Lit Verlag (Encounters, 3), 2004.
- Bechhaus-Gerst, Marianne / Klein-Arendt, Reinhard (eds.), *Die koloniale Begegnung – AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland 1880-1945, Deutsche in Afrika 1880-1918*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003.
- Becker, Felicitas, 'Traders, 'Big Men' and Prophets: Political Continuity and Crisis in the Maji Maji Rebellion in Southeast Tanzania', *JAH*, 45/1 (2000), 1-22.
- Bley, Helmut, *Namibia under German Rule*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag (Studien zur afrikanischen Geschichte, 5); Windhoek: Namibia Scientific Society, 1996.
- Brändle, Rea, *Nayo Bruce: Geschichte einer afrikanischen Familie in Europa*. Zürich: Chronos-Verlag, 2007.
- Brennan, James R., 'Realizing Civilization through Patrilineal Descent: The Intellectual Making of an African Racial Nationalism in Tanzania, 1920-1950', *SI*, 12/4, 2006, 405-423.
- Bromber, Katrin, 'Gustav Neuhaus: mwalimu wa Kiswahili, mhariri na mtumishi wa serikali ya kikoloni', *AAP*, 60 (1999), 175-182.
- 'Verdienste von Lehrern und Lektoren des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin im Schaffen und Bewahren von Swahili-Wortkunst', in Flora Veit-Wild (ed.), *Nicht nur Mythen und Märchen: Afrika-Literaturwissenschaft als Herausforderung*, Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2003, 34-57.
- Bromber, Katrin / Becher, Jürgen, 'Abdallah bin Hemedi: Ein Vertreter der administrativen Elite im Transformationsprozeß zwischen Busaidi-Herrschaft und deutscher Kolonialadministration', in Albert Wirz, Andreas Eckert & Katrin Bromber (eds.), *Alles unter Kontrolle: Disziplinierungsprozesse im kolonialen Tansania (1850-1960)*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2003, 54-70, 233-236.
- Brumfit, Ann, 'The Rise and Development of a Language Policy in German East Africa'. *SUGLA*, 2, 219-331.
- Brown, Walter T., 'Bagamoyo: An Historical Introduction', *TNR*, 71 (1970), 69-83.
- 'The Politics of Business: Relations between Zanzibar and Bagamoyo in the Late Nineteenth Century', *AHS*, 4/3 (1971), 631-643.
- Buck, Christopher, Alain Locke: Faith and Philosophy. Los Angeles: Kalimát Press (Studies in the Bábí and Bahá'í Religions, 18), 2005.
- Burchardt, Lothar, 'The School of Oriental Languages at the University of Berlin – Forging the Cadres of German Imperialism?', transl. by Angela Davies, in Benedikt Stuchtey (ed.), *Science across the European Empires, 1800-1950*. Oxford, etc.: Oxford University Press (Studies of the German Historical Institute), 2005, 63-105.
- Campt, Tina / Grosse, Pascal / Lemke-Muniz de Faria, Yara-Colette, 'Blacks, Germans, and the Politics of Imperial Imagination, 1920-60', in Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox & Susanne Zantop (eds.), *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998, 205-229.
- Chami, Felix / Maro, Eliwasa / Kessy, Jane / Odunga, Simon, *Historical Archaeology of Bagamoyo: Excavations at the Caravan-Serai*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2004.
- Dammann, Ernst, *Afrikanische Handschriften. Teil 1: Handschriften in Swahili und anderen Sprachen Afrikas*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1993.
- *70 Jahre erlebte Afrikanistik: Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1999.

- Debrunner, Hans Werner, *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe. A History of Africans in Europe before 1918*. Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien (Communications from the Basel Africa Bibliography, 22), 1979.
- Deutsch, Jan-Georg, 'The 'Freeing' of Slaves in German East Africa: The Statistical Record, 1890-1914', *SEA*, 19/2 (1998), 109-132.
- El-Tayeb, Fatima, *Schwarze Deutsche. Der Diskurs um "Rasse" und nationale Identität (1890-1933)*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2001.
- Forstreuther, Burkhard / et al., *Berliner Afrikanistische Arbeitsblätter*, Heft 1/1993. Ed. by the Africa Institute of the Humboldt University. Berlin: Humboldt-Universität, 1993.
- Geider, Thomas, 'Indigene Ethnographien in der Swahili-sprachigen Dokumentarliteratur', in Thomas Geider & Raimund Kastenholz (eds.), *Sprachen und Sprachzeugnisse in Afrika*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 1994, 135-152.
- 'The Paper Memory of East Africa: Ethnohistories and Biographies Written in Swahili', in Axel Harneit-Sievers (ed.), *A Place in the World: New Local Historiographies from Africa and South Asia*. Leiden, etc.: Brill, 2002, 255-288.
- Gerhardt, Ludwig, 'Afrikanistische Forschung – die Geschichte einer Kontinuität', in Peter Martin & Christine Alonzo (eds.), *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt: Schwarze im Nationalsozialismus*. München: Dölling und Galitz, 2004, 434-450.
- Gilroy, Paul, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London, New York: Verso, 1993.
- Menzel, Gustav, *C.G. Büttner: Missionar, Sprachforscher und Politiker in der deutschen Kolonialbewegung*, Wuppertal: Verlag der Vereinigten Evangelischen Mission, 2nd edition, 1995.
- Glassman, Jonathon Philip, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888*. Portsmouth: Heinemann, etc., 1995.
- Grosse, Pascal, 'Koloniale Lebenswelten in Berlin 1885-1914', in Ulrich van der Heyden & Joachim Zeller (eds.), *Kolonialmetropole Berlin – eine Spurensuche*. Berlin: Berlin-Edition, 2002, 195-201.
- Hanisch, Ludmilla (ed.), *Islamkunde und Islamwissenschaft im Deutschen Kaiserreich: Der Briefwechsel zwischen Carl Heinrich Becker und Martin Hartmann (1900-1918)*. Leiden: Documentatiebureau Islam-Christendom, Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden (Abdoel-Ghaffaar: Sources for the History of Islamic Studies in the Western World, 5), 1992.
- Harding, Leonhard (ed.), *Mpundu Akwa: der Fall des Prinzen von Kamerun. Das neuentdeckte Plädoyer von Dr. M. Levi*. Münster, etc.: Lit Verlag (Veröffentlichungen des Hamburger Arbeitskreises für Regionalgeschichte, 9), 2000.
- Henschel, Johannes, *Alles begann in Bagamoyo. 100 Jahre Kirche in Ostafrika*. Aachen: Missio Aktuell Verlag, 1983.
- Henschel, Johannes / Ndunguru, Felix / Kadelya, Wiliam, *The Two Worlds: Bagamoyo and Slavery in the 19th Century. The on slave based society in Bagamoyo and surroundings; The slave free society on the Catholic compound*. Bagamoyo: Department for Antiquities, Catholic Museum, 2000.
- Hiery, Hermann Joseph, *Das Deutsche Reich in der Südsee (1900-1921): Eine Annäherung an die Erfahrung verschiedener Kulturen*. Göttingen, Zürich: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, 37), 1995.
- Honold, Alexander / Scherpe, Klaus R. (eds.), *Mit Deutschland um die Welt: Eine Kulturgeschichte des Fremden in der Kolonialzeit*. Stuttgart, Weimar: J.B. Metzler, 2004.
- Hopkins, Leroy T. jr., 'Zwei schwarze Unternehmer im Deutschland der Weimarer Zeit', in Peter Martin & Christine Alonzo (eds.), *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt: Schwarze im Nationalsozialismus*. München: Dölling und Galitz, 2004, 67-72.

- Höpp, Gerhard, 'Islam im Berlin und Brandenburg. Steinerne Erinnerungen', in Gerhard Höpp & Norbert Mattes (eds.), *Berlin für Orientalisten: Ein Stadtführer*. Berlin: Verlag Das Arabische Buch, 2001, 7-23.
- Höpp, Gerhard (ed.), *Fremde Erfahrungen. Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz bis 1945*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch (Zentrum Moderner Orient, Studien, 4), 1996.
- Iliffe, John, *Tanganyika under German Rule, 1905-1912*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Issa, Amina Ameir, 'The Legacy of Q^o dir^o Scholars in Zanzibar', in Roman Loimeier & Rüdiger Seesemann (eds.), *The Global Worlds of the Swahili: Interfaces of Islam, Identity and Space in 19th and 20th-Century East Africa*. Berlin, etc.: Lit Verlag (Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung, 26), 2006, 343-361.
- Jensen, Jürgen, *Afrikaner in Europa – Eine Bibliographie / Africans in Europe – A Bibliography / Africains en Europe – Une Bibliographie*. Münster, etc.: Lit Verlag (Interethnische Beziehungen und Kulturwandel, 51), 2002.
- Joeden-Forgey, Elisa von (ed.), *Mpundu Akwa: The case of the Prince from Cameroon. The newly discovered speech for the defence by Dr. M. Levi*. Münster, etc.: Lit Verlag (Geschichte, 44), 2002.
- Johnson, Frederick, *A Standard English-Swahili Dictionary*. Oxford, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Kettlitz, Eberhardt, *Afrikanische Soldaten aus deutscher Sicht seit 1871: Stereotype, Vorurteile, Feindbilder und Rassismus*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang (Africa and Europe. Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters, 4), 2007.
- Klotz, Stephan (ed.), *Vom tönenden Wirbel menschlichen Tuns: Erich M. von Hornbostel als Gestaltpsychologe, Archivar und Musikwissenschaftler*. Berlin, Milow: Schibri-Verlag, 1998.
- Koller, Christian, 'Von Wilden aller Rassen niedergemetzelt': *Die Diskussion um die Verwendung von Kolonialtruppen in Europa zwischen Rassismus, Kolonial- und Militärpolitik (1914-1930)*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001.
- Lange, Werner, *Hans Paasches Forschungsreise ins innerste Deutschland: Eine Biographie*. Bremen: Donat Verlag, 1995.
- Larson, L.E., 'History of the Mbunga Confederacy ca.1860-1907', *TNR*, 81-82 (1977), 35-42.
- Lewerenz, Susann, *Die Deutsche Afrika-Schau (1935-1940): Rassismus, Kolonialrevisionismus und postkoloniale Auseinandersetzungen im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang (Africa and Europe. Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters, 3), 2006.
- Lotz, Rainer E. / Masel, Andreas / Ziegler, Susanne, *Discographie der ethnischen Aufnahmen*. Bonn: Birgit Lotz Verlag (Deutsche National-Discographie, 5th series, vol.1), 2004.
- Martin, Bradford G., 'Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways b. Muhammad al-Bar^o w^o and the Q^o dir^o ya Brotherhood in East Africa', *JAH*, 10/3 (1969), 471-486.
- *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth Century Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Martin, Peter, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren: Afrikaner in Bewußtsein und Geschichte der Deutschen*. Hamburg: Junius Verlag für Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, 1993.
- 'Der Afrikanische Hilfsverein von 1918', in Peter Martin & Christine Alonzo (eds.), *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt: Schwarze im Nationalsozialismus*. München: Dölling und Galitz, 2004, 73-80.
- 'Die "Liga gegen koloniale Unterdrückung"', in Ulrich van der Heyden und Joachim Zeller (eds.), '... Macht und Anteil an der Weltherrschaft': *Berlin und der deutsche Kolonialismus*, Münster: Unrast-Verlag, 2005, 261-269.
- McIntyre, Joseph / Balliel, Beate / Pfeiffer, Katrin, *Wurzeln in zwei Welten: Westafrikanische Migranten und Migrantinnen in Hamburg*. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2004.

- McIntyre, Joseph A., 'Away from home: Hausa speaking refugees in Hamburg and Spain', in Jürgen Oßenbrügge & Mechthild Reh (eds.), *Social Spaces of African Societies: Applications and Critique of Concepts about "Transnational Social Spaces"*. Münster: Lit Verlag (Afrikanische Studien, 27), 2004, 147-174 (cf. an earlier, extended version under: <http://www.vad-ev.de/2004/download/01tagung/018papers2002/mcintyre.pdf>, March 2008).
- Meyer-Bahlburg, Hilke & Wolff, Ekkehard, *Afrikanistische Sprachen in Forschung und Lehre – 75 Jahre Afrikanistik in Hamburg (1909-1984)*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1986.
- Miehe, Gudrun / Bromber, Katrin / Khamis Said / Großerhede, Ralf (eds.), *Kala Shairi: German East Africa in Swahili Poems*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe, 2002.
- Möhle, Heiko, "... wird man bemüht sein, ihnen die Rückkehr zu erleichtern." Deutsche Afrikaner, Auswärtiges Amt und die "Deutsche Gesellschaft für Eingeborenenkunde" in der Weimarer Republik', in Peter Martin & Christine Alonzo (eds.), *Zwischen Charleston und Stechschritt: Schwarze im Nationalsozialismus*. München: Dölling und Galitz, 2004, 59-66.
- Möhle, Heiko / Heyn, Susanne / Lewerenz, Susann (eds.), *Zwischen Völkerschau und Kolonialinstitut: AfrikanerInnen im kolonialen Hamburg*. Begleitbroschüre zur Ausstellung des St. Pauli Archivs e.V. und des Eine Welt Netzwerks Hamburg e.V. Hamburg: Eine Welt Netzwerk Hamburg, 2006.
- Monson, Jamie, 'Relocating Maji Maji: The Politics of Alliance and Authority in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania, 1870-1918', *JAH*, 39/1 (1998), 95-120.
- Müller, Fritz Ferdinand, *Deutschland – Zanzibar – Ostafrika: Geschichte einer Kolonialeroberung 1884-1890*. Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1959.
- Müller, Guido, *Weltpolitische Bildung und akademische Reform: Carl Heinrich Beckers Wissenschafts- und Hochschulpolitik 1908-1930*. Köln, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1991.
- Nagl, Dominik, *Grenzfälle – Staatsangehörigkeit, Rassismus und nationale Identität unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang (Africa and Europe: Colonial and Postcolonial Encounters, 5), 2007.
- Nimtz, August H., *Islam and Politics in East Africa: The Sufi Order in Tanzania*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980, 118-152.
- Nützsche, Sigrun, 'Verzeichnis der Schriften des Anthropologen und Völkerkundlers Prof. Dr. Bernhard Struck (1888-1971): mit einer biographischen Einführung und Anmerkungen zum Verzeichnis', *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden*, 49 (1996), 293-341.
- Oguntoye, Katharina, *Eine afro-deutsche Geschichte. Zur Lebenssituation von Afrikanern und Afro-Deutschen in Deutschland von 1884 bis 1950*. Berlin: Hoho-Verlag Hoffmann, 1997.
- Oguntoye, Katharina / Opitz, May / Schultz, Dagmar, *Farbe bekennen: Afro-deutsche Frauen auf den Spuren ihrer Geschichte*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1997 (revised edition).
- Opitz, May / Oguntoye, Katharina / Schultz, Dagmar, *Showing our colors: Afro-German women speak out*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.
- Pouwels, Randall L., *Horn and Crescent: Cultural change and traditional Islam on the East African coast, 800-1900*. Cambridge, etc.: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Pugach, Sara, "'Christianize" and Conquer: Carl Meinhof, German Evangelical Missionaries, and the Debate over African Languages, 1905-1910', in Ulrich van der Heyden & Jürgen Becher (eds.), *Mission und Gewalt: Der Umgang christlicher Missionen mit Gewalt und die Ausbreitung des Christentums in Afrika und Asien in der Zeit von 1792 bis 1918/19*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Missionsgeschichtliches Archiv, 6), 2000, 509-524.
- 'Of conjunctions, comportment, and clothing: the place of African teaching assistants in Berlin and Hamburg, 1889-1919', in Helen Tilley and Robert J. Gordon (eds.), *Ordering Africa: Anthropology, European Imperialism and the Politics of Knowledge*. Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press (Studies in Imperialism), 2007, 119-144.
- Reed-Anderson, Paulette, *Rewriting the footnotes: Berlin and the African Diaspora*. Berlin: Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats, extended edition, 2000.

- Rosenhaft, Eve, 'Afrikaner und "Afrikaner" im Deutschland der Weimarer Republik: Antikolonialismus und Antirassismus zwischen Doppelbewusstsein und Selbsterfindung', in Birthe Kundrus (ed.), *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus*. Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag, 2003, 282-301.
- Rüger, Adolf, 'Imperialismus, Sozialreformismus und antikoloniale demokratische Alternative: Zielvorstellungen von Afrikanern in Deutschland im Jahre 1919', *ZjG*, 23/11 (1975), 1293-1308.
- Ruppenthal, Jens, *Kolonialismus als „Wissenschaft und Technik“: Das Hamburgische Kolonialinstitut 1908 bis 1919*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag (Historische Mitteilungen, Ranke-Gesellschaft, 66), 2007.
- Schäfer, Richard, *Geschichte der Deutschen Orient-Mission*. Potsdam: Missionshandlung und Verlag, Lepsius, Fleischmann & Grauer, 1932.
- Schneppen, Heinz, *Sayyida Salme/Emily Ruete between Zanzibar and Germany, between Islam and Christianity*. Dar es Salaam: National Museums of Tanzania, 1999.
- Seesemann, Rüdiger, 'African Islam or Islam in Africa? Evidence from Kenya', in Roman Loimeier & Rüdiger Seesemann (eds.), *The Global Worlds of the Swahili: Interfaces of Islam, Identity and Space in 19th and 20th-Century East Africa*. Berlin, Münster: Lit Verlag (Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung, 26), 2006, 229-250.
- Sippel, Harald, 'Rassismus, Protektionismus oder Humanität? Die gesetzlichen Verbote der Anwerbung von 'Eingeborenen' zu Schaustellungszwecken in den deutschen Kolonien', in Robert Debusmann & János Riesz (eds.), *Kolonialausstellungen – Begegnungen mit Afrika?* Frankfurt am Main: IKO-Verlag für Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 1995, 43-64.
- '“Im Interesse des Deutschtums und der weißen Rasse”: Behandlung und Rechtswirkungen von "Rassenmischehen" in den Kolonien Deutsch-Ostafrika und Deutsch-Südwestafrika', *JaR*, 9 (1995), 123-159.
- 'Der deutsche Reichstag und das "Eingeborenenrecht": Die Erforschung der Rechtsverhältnisse der autochthonen Völker in den deutschen Kolonien', *RabelsZ*, 61/4 (1997), 714-738.
- 'Mtoro bin Bakari – Ein Afrikaner wider Willen in Berlin', in Ulrich van der Heyden & Joachim Zeller (eds.), *Kolonialmetropole Berlin – eine Spurensuche*. Berlin: Berlin-Edition, 2002, 211-215.
- 'Rechtspolitische Ansätze zur Vermeidung einer Mischlingsbevölkerung in Deutsch-Südwestafrika', in Frank Becker (ed.), *Rassenmischehen – Mischlinge – Rassentrennung: Zur Politik der Rasse im deutschen Kolonialreich*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2004, 138-164.
- Smith, Helmut Walser, 'The Talk of Genocide, the Rhetoric of Miscegenation: Notes on Debates in the German Reichstag Concerning Southwest Africa, 1904-14', in Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox & Susanne Zantop (eds.), *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998, 107-123.
- Stoecker, Helmuth (ed.), *German Imperialism in Africa: From the Beginnings until the Second World War*. Transl. by Bernd Zöllner. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1986.
- Stoecker, Holger, 'Das Seminar für orientalische Sprachen. Kolonialmetropole', in Ulrich van der Heyden & Joachim Zeller (eds.), *Berlin: Eine Spurensuche*. Berlin: Berlin-Edition, 2002, 115-122.
- *Afrikanwissenschaften in Berlin von 1919 bis 1945: Zur Geschichte und Topographie eines wissenschaftlichen Netzwerkes*. Ph.D. dissertation, Humboldt-University, Berlin, 2005.
- Sunseri, Thaddeus, 'Famine and Wild Pigs: Gender Struggles and the Outbreak of the Majimaji War in Uzaramo (Tanzania)', *JAHS*, 38/2 (1997), 235-259.
- 'Statist Narratives and Maji Maji Ellipses', *IJAHS*, 33/3 (2000), 567-584.
- Ternes, Elmar, 'Einleitung', in Martin Heepe (ed.), *Lautzeichen und ihre Anwendung in verschiedenen Sprachgebieten*. Reprint of the edition of 1928. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1983.

- Westermann, Verena, 'Eine fast vergessene Einwanderung: Afrikaner in Hamburg 1884-1945', in Heiko Möhle (ed.), *Branntwein, Bibeln und Bananen: Der deutsche Kolonialismus in Afrika – eine Spurensuche in Hamburg*. Hamburg: Verlag Libertäre Assoziation, 1999, 87-92.
- Wildenthal, Lora, 'Race, Gender, and Citizenship in the German Colonial Empire', in Frederick Cooper & Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press, 1997, 263-283.
- *German Women for Empire, 1884-1945*. Durham, London: Duke University Press (Politics, History, and Culture), 2001.
- Wimmelbucker, Ludger / Sippel, Harald, "... aus meiner Heimat verwiesen und hier in Deutschland brotlos gemacht ..." Leben und Wirken des Swahili-Lektors Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari (ca.1869-1927)', in Ulrich van der Heyden (ed.), *Unbekannte Biographien: Afrikaner im deutschsprachigen Europa vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges*. Berlin: Kai Homilius Verlag, 196-232.
- Wright, Marcia, 'Maji Maji: Prophecy and Historiography', in David M. Anderson & Douglas H. (eds.), *Revealing Prophets: Prophecy in Eastern African History*. London: James Currey; etc. (Eastern African Studies), 1995, 124-142.
- Zein, Abdul Hamid M. el, *The Sacred Meadows: A Structural Analysis of Religious Symbolism in an East African Town*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1974.

Index

A

- Abd el-Wahhab Bu-Bekr 52
 Abdallah bin Hemedi 101
 Abdallah bin Wazir 82, 90
 Abu Bakr bin Taha al-Jabri 16-18
 African-Americans 38-39, 114
 African identity 38-39, 90-91, 100, 114-116
 see also Racism
 African immigrants in Germany 9-10, 37-38, 59-60, 90-92, 104, 115-116
 see also Citizenship
 African languages 37, 76
 Amharic 43n
 Douala 80, 92
 Ewe 70n, 80, cf. 131
 Hausa 70n
 Jaunde 80
 see also Swahili, Zaramo, Doe
 African language teachers
 working conditions 36-37, 40-41, 45-46, 56-60, 74-75, 84, 86-87, 99-102
 salary 39-40, 43, 52, 56n, 57, 63, 67, 69, 74-75, 77, 82, 89, 95, 99, 111, cf. 19n, 29n, 33-34
 African Solidarity Association 92, 104
 Afrikanischer Hilfsverein
 see African Solidarity Association
 Akwa, Mpundu 92
 Allen, John W.T. 119
 Amour bin Nassor al-Omeri 17, 35, 40-43, 50n, 51, 78, 106
 Arabia and Arabian culture 13, 17-18, 20, 39, 43, 114-115
 Arabic language 16, 18, 35, 41-43, 46, 48, 52, 71, 78, 112
 script 29n, 44, 52, 108-109, 122, 124
 Atangana, Karl 80, 90
 Athmani bin Abdallah 58n, 59n
 Axenfeld, Carl 66, 68

B

- Bachmann, Emil 66-67
 Bagamoyo 13-34, 41, 44n, 50, 57, 95, 106, 111, 112, 123, 125
 Bakari, Mtoro
 see Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari
 Barbe, Elisabeth 69
 Baudert, Samuel 69
 Bayume Mohamed Husen
 see Mahjub bin Adam Mohamed
 Bebel, August 93
 Becker, Carl Heinrich 20n, 70-75, 77, 88, 101n, 107-109, 114, 121
 Berlin 13, 20, 33, 35-71, 83, 84, 86, 90-109-113, 115, 118, 124, 127, cf. 130-131
 Brody, Louis 104
 Bruce, Kwassi 106
 Buck, Diedrich 64, 69
 Bund Neues Vaterland
 see New Fatherland Union
 Burial places
 Mtoro Bakari 109
 Bertha Hilske 110n
 E. Ruete (Salme) 91n
 Sulaiman bin Said 40
 C. Velten 44n
 Burton, Richard Francis 20
 Bushiri bin Salim al-Harthi 24-26
 Büttner, Carl Gotthilf 40-42, 46, 78
 Bwana Heri 24, 27

C

- Christian missions
 Breklum Mission 77-78, cf. 130
 Basel Missionary Society 66, cf. 130-131
 Berlin Missionary Society 63-64, 66-69, cf. 130
 Congregation of the Spiritans
 (*Congrégation du Saint-Esprit*) 21-22, 25-26

- German Oriental Mission 63, 65-66, 68
 Evangelical Mission for German East Africa (Bethel Mission) 41, 56, 68-69, cf. 131
 Leipzig Mission 66, cf. 130
 Moravian Church 66, 69-70, cf. 131
 North German Missionary Society 66, 80n, cf. 131
 Rhine Missionary Society 66, cf. 131
 Christianization 20, 22, 41, 46, 72, 74
 Civilization, ideas of
 European 10, 37, 41, 73-74
 Swahili 13, 19-20, 67, 112, 115
 see also Modernization
 Citizenship 37-38, 55, 92, 96, 100, 102
 Colonization
 conquest 24-27, 84, *see also* Maji Maji War
 taxation 29-34, 51n, 112, 126-127
 ideological influences 10, 27, 39, 42, 52, 53, 59, 72-74, 81, 86, 90, 95, 98-99, 102, 103-104, 112, 118, *see also* Christianization, Civilization, Modernization
 Colonial Department of the German Foreign Office
 see Imperial Colonial Office
 Cottbus 96, 98n
 Cultural anthropology 117

 D
 Dar es Salaam 18n, 27-28, 42-43, 53-54, 56, 62, 83-84, 102, 125, cf. 131
 Daudert, Richard 69
 Dempwolff, Otto 78, 80, 127, cf. 131
 Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft
 see German Peace Society
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde
 see German Society of Islamic Studies
 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft
 see German Colonial Society
 Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft
 see German East African Society
 Dieck, Mandenga 38n
 Doe culture and people 13, 19, 44, 125
 Du Bois, William E.B. 38-39, 114
 Dunda 13-16, 21, 23-25, 27, 102n, 125

 E
 Eilfeld, Arthur 69

 F
 Förster, Max Eduard 87, 89

 G
 Gaarde, Nis 66-67, 70
 Geider, Thomas 123
 Gerlach, Hellmut von 96-98
 Glauning, Hans cf. 131
 German colonies
 Togo 80, 106
 Cameroon 38n, 56n, 82, 90-92, 96, 104, 116
 German Southwest Africa 54-55, 82, 98
 German East Africa 12, 23-34, 36, 41-42, 44-46, 53-54, 56-59, 84-86, 98, 106, 112, 122
 Tanganyika 32, 101-102
 Pacific islands 55-56
 German Colonial Society 81, cf. 131
 German East African Society 23
 German language 6, 29, 36, 42, 43n, 44, 54, 58-59, 61, 66, 71, 80n, 95, 104, 109, 118, 124
 German Peace Society 96-97
 German Press *see* Newspapers
 German Society of Islamic Studies 68
 Götzen, Gustav Adolf Graf von 49, 53-54, 56-57
 Graetz, Paul 43
 Grant, James Augustus 21

 H
 Haji Musa ben Fulani 76
 Halidi bin Kirama 58, 95-96, 100n, 101

Hamburg 35, 70, 72-94, 101, 114, cf. 130-131

Colonial Institute 72-102

Hamid Waly 109n

Hamisi bin Farhani 83-84, 90

Harries, Lyndon 118-119

Hassan bin Omari 84

Heepe, Martin 59-60, 75-78, 86-90

Hehe 21, 25

Hildebrandt, Wilhelm 59, 62, 103

Hilske, Bertha

see Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari

Hintrager, Oskar 63n, 82

Hornbostel, Erich von 47

Horner, Anthony 21

I

Imperial Colonial Office 49, 53-54, 55n, 56, 58, 61-65, 106

Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany 98, 103

Indian Ocean 9, 15, 19

Indians 10, 13, 28, 31, 33

Islam 50-51, 61, 72-74, 108-109, 114, 119

in East Africa 16-20, 53, 112, 121
colloquium on Islam 66-68, 71, cf. 130-131

J

Jessen, Peter 77-78

Joop, Daniel 69

K

Kaiser (German emperor) 25, 61, 80

Kaole 20-22

Kidege bin Kashifa 58

King, Noel 119, 126

Klingenheben, August 75-77, 80n, 86n, 87, 90

L

Lamu 18n, 125

Languages 10, 35

see also African languages, Swahili,
Zaramo, Doe, German, Arabic

League against Imperialism and for
National Independence 115

Leue, August 29-30

Lindi 84, 125

Lipke, Gustav 69

Lynching 55

M

Maaß, Otto 69

Machemba 84

Mahenge *see* Mbunga

Mahjub bin Adam Mohamed 59-60

Maji Maji War 15n, 28, 54, 68, 85, 91, 97-99, 116

Makanda bin Mwinyi Mkuu 12n, 23, 26-27

Makembe, Peter 80, 92

Makunganya 84

Marriage (intercultural) 38n, 49-56, 72, 91, 96, 102

in Mtoro Bakari's eyes 53, 55, 61-62, 81, 113, 115

Matimbwa 16

Mbaraka bin Shomari 84n, 119

Mbunga Abdallah 27

Mbunga confederacy 15, 21, 25

Mdachi bin Sharifu 58-59, 95-102, 107, 116

Mecklenburg, Adolf Friedrich von 58

Meinhof, Carl 46-48, 52, 64-68, 69-80, 86-90, 92, 94, 103, 127, cf. 131

Methner, Wilhelm 43, 58n

Miludi ben Mohammed Siadi Talbi 109

Modernization, ideas of 9, 31-33, 35, 39, 85, 112, 126, cf. 35, 93

see also Civilization

Morogoro 15, 16n

Mpundu Akwa 92

Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari

as teacher 45-46, 51, 63-71, 74-77, 81, 86-88, 90, 93-96, 104-107, 122-123, 127

as author 44, 51-52, 118-127

as informant 44, 47-48, 74-75, 78, 80, 90, 121, 122-124

- his social position 11-12, 15-16,
17-20, 27, 28-34, 37-38, 42-43,
49-51, 53, 63-64, 75-78, 81, 86,
91-94, 107-109, 111-114
places of residence 44, 50, 67n, 77
relatives and wives:
Abdallah (brother) 15
Bertha Bakari (German wife) 49-
55, 61-62, 93, 102, 108-110
Hawa or Kidawa binti Marera
(mother) 15-16
Mamboni binti Amiri Majiru (first
wife) 28
Masiti binti Mwinyi Bakari (sister?)
15, 119
Mwanaidi (daughter) 28
Mwinyi Bakari (father) 12, 15-16
Mwinyi Makubi bin Chuma
(grandfather) 12n, 16
Serenge (slave) 29
Sleman (brother) 15
Muhammed Hassan 109n
Muhammed bin Juma 59
Muhammadi bin Akida 52, 58
Muscat 13, 39
Mwakinyo bin Makanyaga 51, 58-59,
102
Mwinjuma bin Laamiri 52, 58
Mwinyihija bin Zuberi 58
Mwinyi Shomari bin Mwinyi Kambi
52n
- N
Nauhaus, Carl 68-69
Nazi regime 6, 59-60, 101n, 106, 113,
116
Négritude 114
Neub, Friedrich 69-70
Neuhaus, Gustav 18n, 45
New Fatherland Union 96
Newspapers
German 40, 54-56, 72, 91, 95, 98-
99, 103, 109n
Swahili (*Kiongozi*) 59, 70, 85, 98n
see also Readership
Niese, Richard 124, 127
- P
Paasche, Hans 97-99
Panconcelli-Calzia, Giulio 80, 83
Phonetics 48, 78-79
Berlin Phonogram Archives 47, cf.
130
Phonetic Laboratory (Hamburg)
80, 83, cf. 130
Pangani 24-25
Peters, Carl 35
Pfläging, Wilhelm 53
Plazikowski, Max 70
Pröck, Gustav 69
- R
Racism 6, 9-10, 27, 39, 41-42, 54, 71,
73-74, 78, 103-107
discrimination 36-37, 38, 43, 55-60,
74-77, 81, 113
opposition to 42, 91-92, 96-101,
114-116
reactions of Mtoro Bakari 51-52,
62, 63, 64, 67, 78, 86-89, 94-95,
104-109, 111, 113, 127
Readership 32, 42, 116, 118, 122-123
Reichskolonialamt
see Imperial Colonial Office
Reinhardt, Carl 39
Ruete, Emilie 91
Ruvu (Kingani) river 15-16, 21-23
- S
Sachau, Eduard 52-53, 62, 104
Saleh bin Omar 58, 102n
Sand, Otto 94
Sayyida Salme *see* Ruete, Emilie
Schnee, Heinrich 51
School of Oriental and African Studies
(SOAS) 83
School of Oriental Languages 35-53,
56-60, 62, 66-71, 83, 94-95, 99-100,
103
Schwellnus, Johannes 69
Seesemann, Elisabeth 46, 47n, 65n
Seminar für orientalische Sprachen
see School of Oriental Languages

- Sienkiewicz, Henryk 27
 Slave trade and slaves 9-10, 13, 17, 22, 28, 29, 41, 53, 112
 Social anthropology 117
 Songea 98
 Speke, John Hanning 20-21
 Stanley, Henry Morton 21
 Steere, Edward 43, 46
 Stern, Rudolf 66-67
 Struck, Bernhardt 70, cf. 131
 Suedi bin Farjallah 51, 57
 Sulaiman bin Said bin Ahmed es-Sorami 39-42, 78
 Sultan of Zanzibar (Said, Majid, Bargash, Khalifa and Hamoud al-Busaidi) 13, 15, 20, 24-25, 111-112
 Swahili
 language 6, 22, 29, 36, 46-48, 59, 84-86, 90, 122, *see also* Phonetics
 identity 12, 15-16, 18-20, 30-31, 39, 42, 71, 78, 112, 113-114
 European perceptions of 42-43, 47-48, 68, 74, 88, 125-126
 teaching 37, 41-42, 45-48, 56-58, 74-78, 82, 86, 90, 123
 students 37, 42-43, 45-47, 52-53, 57-58, 62-66, 69-71, 74, 77-78, 86-87, 124 (female: 37, 69)
- T
 Tabu bin Uledi 57-59
 Tanga 51n, 53-54, 56, 58-59, 62, 84-85, 98n
 Thiel, Werner 56
 Tiling, Maria von 84, 86
 Tischler, Johannes 76
 Toso, Victor 80
 Treaty of Versailles 96n, 98-99
 Treitschke, Heinrich von 39
- U
 Uluguru 15-16
 USPD *see* Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany
 Unyamwezi 15, 66
 Usambara 101
- Uways bin Muhammad al-Barawi 16-17
- V
 Velten, Carl 12, 32, 35, 42-47, 49, 51-52, 62, 75, 84, 95-96, 104, 111, 116, 118-127, cf. 131
- W
 Wegner, Clara 46
 Weimar Republic 59, 92, 96-110, 114-116
 Werner, Alice 75n, 121, cf. 134
 Wilde, Martin 63, 66, 69
 Wilder, Hermann 54
 Wissmann, Herrmann von 84
 World War I 28, 36, 58, 83, 90, 93-95, 104, 106, 113-114
 World War II 39n, 83n
- Y
 Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) 65, 80n
- Z
 Zache, Hans 42, 80, 84-86, 89, 102, 124-125
 Zanzibar 13, 15, 17, 22-23, 27, 39, 41-42, 54, 91
 Zaramo culture and people 13, 15-16, 19, 44, 68-69, 80, 90, 112, 125
 Zietz, Luise 103

Sources of illustrations

1.1	Bagamoyo as seen by a Catholic missionary in 1882 Étienne Baur & Alexandre Le Roy, <i>A travers le Zanguebar</i> , facing page 114.	14
1.2	German map of 1889 showing caravan routes near Bagamoyo Attached to Paul Reichard, 'Ost-Afrika', <i>DKZ</i> , 6/21 (25 May 1889), page 165.	21
2.1	Station of the German East African Society in Dunda in August 1887 Hans Meyer, <i>Zum Schneedom des Kilimandscharo</i> , plate 37.	24
2.2	A drawing of Makanda and Bushiri published in 1892 Georg Richelmann, <i>Meine Erlebnisse</i> , frontispiece.	26
2.3	Refugees near the Catholic mission in Bagamoyo in 1888/89 J. Sturtz & J. Wangemann, <i>Land und Leute in Deutsch-Ostafrika</i> , photo no.10.	26
2.4	A modern well in Bagamoyo around 1910 Photo taken by Walter Dobbertin between 1906 and 1918, BArch Koblenz, Bild 105-DOA0670.	32
3.1	C.G. Büttner und Sulaiman bin Said Gustav Neuhaus, 'Kitabu Mauludi', facing page 148	40
3.2	Carl Velten in German East Africa between 1893 and 1896 Photo kindly provided by Carl Velten's granddaughter, Alice Carnwath, London.	45
4.1	Mtoro Bakaris's signature, from his letter of 21 December 1906 BArch R1001/5422, folio 38.	50
5.1	The house of the German Oriental Mission in 1904 Photo attached to the article 'Das Missionshaus und das Seminar der Deutschen Orient-Mission in Groß-Lichterfelde', <i>ChO</i> 5/12 (1904), page 179.	65
6.1	The auditorium used by the Hamburg Colonial Institute in 1912 <i>DKZ</i> , 29/22 (1 June 1912), special supplement, page 3.	73
6.2	African language courses in the program of the Colonial Institute for the winter semester of 1912/13 Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut und Allgemeines Vorlesungswesen, Verzeichnis der Vorlesungen im Winterhalbjahr 1912/13, Hamburg, 1912, pages 11-12.	76
6.3	Carl Meinhof in 1926/27 <i>Festschrift Meinhof: Sprachwissenschaftliche und andere Studien</i> , Hamburg: L. Friederichsen & Co, frontispiece.	79
7.1	Title page of a Swahili newspaper Kiongozi, 2/23 (April 1907).	85
8.1	Photo taken between 1911 and 1916, presumably showing one of the Swahili lecturers who lived in Berlin during that time Originally in possession of Carl Velten, and kindly provided by his granddaughter Alice Carnwath, London. The photo must have been produced between 1911 and 1916 because the address of the photographer on the back (Martin Balg, Berlin C., Königsstraße 33) tallies with the information given in the directory of Berlin for the years 1912 to 1916.	97
9.1	Letter of Mtoro Bakari to C.H. Becker dated 2 November 1926 GStA PK, VI.HA, Nachlass C.H. Becker, Nr.6204.	108
10.1	Title page of the <i>Desturi za Wasuabeli</i> Edited by Carl Velten and published in 1903.	120

MTORO BIN MWINYI BAKARI

This book presents a study of the life history of Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari (c. 1869 - 1927). Mtoro bin Mwinyi Bakari grew up and studied Islamic Sciences in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. He became a Swahili lecturer and author in Germany and is known to have written *Desturi za Wasuaheli*, an important work in Swahili culture.

The book introduces the wider historical context of his writings, and, in particular, reconstructs the racism and discrimination in both the colonial and metropolitan contexts, features which negatively influenced his career and his life as a whole.

The study also offers insights into contributions of the colonized to the study of African languages and cultures during this same historical context.

Ludger Wimmelbucker (PhD Humburg University - African History) is the author of Kilimanjaro - A Regional History c.1800-1920. He also published various articles on the history of East Africa. He also worked in a project on life histories relating to the Zanzibar Revolution. He currently works on the international dimension of thalidomide, including victims of the drug who were born in Africa around 1960.

ISBN 978-9987-08-008-3



Mkuki na Nyota Publishers Ltd
P. O. Box 4246
Dar es Salaam
www.mkukinanyota.com

ISBN 978-9987-08-008-3



9 789987 080083